The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

THE Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at vanston may not have fulfilled all the vague hopes that had come be centred upon it, but it triumphantly survived the fears at a rigorous scrutiny of Christian hope and faith in this multuous age would reveal more differences than agreements. demonstrated that the resolve of the constituent churches to stay gether was more than the emotional response of traditionalists, raid for their privileges, their institutions and their accustomed ays of thinking, huddling together for shelter in a storm, and like e mariners in *The Tempest* crying, "to prayers, to prayers!" but e resolve of men of many kindreds and peoples and tongues who, ving committed themselves, their hopes and their loves to Jesus hrist, expect in this world to have tribulation and are yet not raid except of their own sins and unfaithfulness, and desire only carry His work of redeeming grace into the farthest corners of e earth and into every phase of human life. In particular they ere at Amsterdam, and still are, conscious of the weakness that ises from the fact that they not only speak with many voices but pear only too often to be saying different, and even incompatible, ings in His name.

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The delegates and observers with whom we have consulted are greed that in many respects Evanston was a great council. How eat has yet to appear as its work is considered and weighed in e calm that succeeds the thrills of great meetings and demonstra-ons. And there follows the considerable work of bringing the sults, and still more the spirit, of the council into the life of the cal churches everywhere. Preachers and speakers will not lack aterial for a long time if they study the voluminous reports that e already available and the official Proceedings which are to be iblished early in the spring by the S.C.M. Press. From those apers we have had the opportunity of seeing it is evident that they ntain some of the best and most courageous thinking in the hurch today. Prejudices and traditional customs in thought and ractice are seen for what they are when they are brought before great and varied an assembly. They must be seen no less clearly

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by the whole body of Christian people. For the momentum c merely traditional belief has almost died away. In the new world which the younger generation already inhabit, much that sustaine our fathers and even ourselves has lost its power. For us Protestant nothing short of personal conviction and the power of the Hol Spirit in our churches is enough to sustain us in this troubled lif and to guide our thinking in the great practical human problem which must be resolved without delay.

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In the last decade a number of very important conferences hav met, and real understanding of problems, differences and agree ments has spread and deepened among the leaders of the churches But between them and the church members they represent and fo whom thy speak the gulf is still wide and deep. It can only b bridged by using and making opportunities for bringing to the loca churches the real confidence in a shaking world that the variou ecumenical movements have already engendered.

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Our own contribution in this number is to print the impression of two of our own eminent delegates to Evanston, and the remark able papers read to the conference for Professor Niebuhr, and b Mr. Daniel Jenkins, Dr. Charles Malik and Mrs. Rena Karefa Smart. The last two are particularly important in that they tackl courageously yet confidently some of the most urgent and impor ant practical problems in the modern world. And if it is said tha they raise questions rather than answer them, at any rate it is tru that they ask the right questions. And to ask the right questio is to turn our faces in the right direction. We hope our reade will be stimulated by these papers to pursue their studies o what was actually said and done at Evanston. Discussion circle of all kinds, ministerial fraternals and the like, will be richl rewarded if they work over the actual material of the conference For us Congregationalists Mr. Jenkins' paper provides interestin evidence of how we present ourselves to an ecumenical gathering

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It is in the nature of things that we Congregationalists shoul be interested in ecumenical movements, for all our churches ar or should be, ecumenical fellowships. We receive all who sincerel desire to be received in Christ's name, and we work with all tho who will work with us. We unchurch none on the ground o differences of intellectual apprehension of the Gospel, nor becaus a different historical environment leads to a different expression o the fundamental faith. We are against only those things whic deny the catholicity of the faith. In practice this catholicity has i

difficulties, of course. The London Missionary Society, for example, is Congregational only because it is supported chiefly by Congregationalists, who have no denominational missionary society and yet have been pioneers in missionary work in the modern era. And when, as happens about every twenty-five years, proposals are made for the formal association of the Society with the Congregational Union, and an exploratory committee is appointed, its proceedings follow the same course and reach the same conclusion. The constitution of the Society was deliberately framed to give the home churches who desire it the opportunity of missionary service that should not be confined within sectarian or denominational bounds. And we ourselves have never seen a scheme for union with other churches which did not ask us to become something less than we are and more denominational than it is possible for us to be. Mr. Jenkins in his paper did not disguise from his hearers the earthiness of the vessel, yet stated finely the treasure of Congregationalism which it contains.

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So it is also in the nature of things that some of our ablest leaders are called into ecumenical work. Our present Chairman has long been one of the beloved and trusted leaders of the International Missionary Council; and now our General Secretary, Dr. Leslie Cooke, becomes an Associate Secretary of the World Council of Churches and Director of its Inter-church Aid and Refugee Service. We shall miss him from our pulpits and our councils more than we can easily say. And we let him go with our prayers and good wishes only because we believe that his brilliant gifts will be used to the full in the development of the ecumenical movement and in its Refugee Service, one of the noblest pieces of work in the modern world, and in the faith that God who provides His own apostolate in the Church will raise up amongst us a worthy successor.

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In these notes we may allow ourselves a few less formal lines on an occasion that calls for personal congratulations, too. A unanimous call from the Central Committee of the World Council is in itself a high tribute to the work Dr. Cooke has already done as a member of that body and even more a mark of what his eminent and very reverend colleagues expect from him. And his friends rejoice for him. He is not a denominationalist, but he is a Congregationalist, and will not forget the rock whence he is hewn and the hole of the pit whence he is digged. He came in his youth from Clermont Church, Brighton, to Lancashire College where we first met. In those early years we played cricket together, and when his first pastorate at Gatley made us near neighbours we met regularly to play golf and to talk of the church and the world in those

uncertain years as they shortened into the bewildering months before the second world war. In his college days, and still more evidently when his pastorate began to make its demands upon him, his gifts were outstanding, and his subsequent career has held no surprises for the friends of his early years. Nor must we here forget that for a time he was associated with Mr. Leslie Tizard in the editorship of this journal.

So now that he is called from Memorial Hall to the Route de Malagnou we can only say, Go with God—but come back as often as you can.

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To read the story of those *Nine Troubled Years* (Collins, pp 448, 25s.) from 1931 to 1940 as they are told by Viscount Templewood (Sir Samuel Hoare) is for those who gave any attention to public affairs at that time to relive an inglorious period of our own lives and the nation's history. It is true, as the author suggests, that public opinion was often wrongheaded, but that was in great part because the leadership of the country was inadequate for the events it wrongly believed itself to be controlling. Lord Templewood dedicates his book to his wife ". . . . without whose sympathy the difficulties and troubles I am describing might have been intolerable." And those well-nigh intolerable troubles were only the snarlings of the gathering storm that broke upon us with such fury.

Perhaps it would be better to leave it now to the historians of later generations who will bring to it all the detachment to which we cannot attain who lived through it. They will be grateful for this chronicle of events and fill in what is missing. We have fresh troubles enough.

> The troubles of our proud and angry dust
> Are from eternity and shall not fail.

Yet one reads on hoping to find the key to so long drawn out a failure of British statesmanship. Have we to put it down merely to Baldwin's inertia and Chamberlain's incorrigible self-assurance? In part, without doubt. The responsibilities of leadership in a democracy are real and must not be under-estimated. This book does take us deeper, for it is written by one who was continuously in high office from which he only retired to become ambassador to Spain. He had much to do with making the history he now writes about. He tells the story; it is for others to analyse it and draw the morals.

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It will be read by us chiefly for what it has to say about Abyssinia, and Munich, and it states the case for the Government in these two crises in clear and simple terms. Nothing new emerges,

ut the impression deepens that the source of many of the troubles nd mistakes was a lack of vision. The officers as well as the crew f the ship simply did not realize how rapidly it was drifting towards ne rocks. Faced with ruthless fanatics like Hitler and even Musso- ni, British statesmen did not lack courage, but understanding. The ortrait of Chamberlain which the author draws is of a man of ntegrity and goodwill, self-confident and assured, with sympathy or the sufferings of ordinary men but without any understanding f the dark depths of the human spirit. "From the moment he ecame Prime Minister he set himself the urgent task of exhausting very expedient for preventing the calamity of a European war," ays the author. That is manifestly true. But it was not expedients nat were needed, but the understanding that something demonic vas loose in the world. He thought he was controlling the storm as vell as his ship.

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Union Church, Brighton, has celebrated the centenary of the oundation of Queen Square Church which, in 1898, during the ninistry of Dr. R. J. Campbell, was joined with the much lder Union Street Chapel to form the present Union Church. Miss Elizabeth Carson has written a short history of these churches paper, 1s. 6d. from the author) with Forewords by Canon Camp- ell and the Rev. D. W. Langridge and a Postscript by the Rev. I. A. Hamilton, the newly appointed minister.

Mr. Langridge says that there has always been "a slight flavour f excitement" about Union Church; indeed, in the early years of ne century it was perhaps more than slight, and the influence of ne church spread far beyond Brighton itself. Canon Campbell ontributes some interesting facts about the beginnings of Protestant nd Free Church worship in the town and countryside in the 16th entury, as well as recollections of people and work during his own inistry, including a conversation with a member of his congrega- on who had been Queen Victoria's head coachman and didn't like er. From 1909 to 1931 Rhondda Williams was minister, and herever Rhondda was there was certain to be 'a slight flavour of xcitement.' The social Gospel may now seem to have been more ocial than Gospel, but these are days when the revolution brought bout by two great wars and an aroused public conscience have bolished so many of the injustices and the poverty against which hondda fought a life-long battle. He was one of the most brilliant reachers Wales ever sent into the English pulpit and we are glad to alute the memory of one of the ablest and most fearless fighters or truth and righteousness of his generation.

We offer congratulations to the church and our good wishes to s new minister. May its future be no less distinguished than its ast.

THE WORLD AT LARGE

Of one of W. S. Gilbert's most praiseworthy figures it is alleged that although he apparently had the option of being born Russian or French or Turkish or German or even Italian, yet, all temptation bravely resisted, he remained an Englishman. His perplexity or dilemma is not easy to envisage, for I am quite sure that—to perpetrate an Irishism—had I been born an Italian, I should not be I but somebody quite different. I am therefore asking myself impossible questions when I wonder what I should think and feel if I were an American Christian or a Chinese Christian or a Czechoslovak Christian. None the less, if we are to say our prayers properly, it is necessary that we exercise our imagination, as best we can, to understand the problems and the points of view of our fellow-Christians in other lands.

I ask, then, first of all: how does the world look to a Chinese Christian? I do not know the answer, but I will attempt some sort of answer.

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The Chinese Christian, as I suppose, if at one time he had great hopes of the rule of Chiang Kai-Shek as an attempt at a Christian regime, has long since given up any such illusion. That regime fell through corruption and incompetence, whatever the ideals of its leaders. It does not occur to the Chinese Christian to regard the junta on Formosa as the legitimate government of China. Chinese Christians have not 'gone Communist' overnight, but they have accepted, welcomed and supported the new order. They have qualms and anxieties indeed. They, or at least their leaders, bitterly regret the severing of all means of communication with the churches of the West; they know well that the government of their country professes a creed of militant atheism; there have been places where the suppression of the Church has been attempted by some local Communist enthusiast; there have been agonizing moments when it was demanded of them that they denounce some of their fellow-Christians. And they were sorry to say good-bye to the missionaries, yet wonderfully relieved when at last they went, for their presence had been increasingly embarrassing; they had brought the Gospel, no doubt, and how could one ever be thankful enough for that? Yet they remained as a kind of foreign governing class in the Church, and the Church had increasingly felt that it could never quite be the Church as a Chinese Church should be while it was still financially dependent upon foreign money and foreign leadership; besides, was there not something in the view that, however little they may personally have intended it, the missionaries were representatives of that domineering Western imperialism so humiliating to Chinese

ıtional pride? When, further, China had accepted a Communist ɔvernment, and the governments of the Western powers were sposed to regard Communism as the supreme political enemy, ıy association with Western missionaries laid the Church open to e charge of being a political Fifth Column. More than that, the hurch in China not only accepted the new political regime; in most gards they welcomed it wholeheartedly. It is the most uncorrupt ɔvernment China has known for centuries; it has already set about e task of social reform and the remedying of the agelong poverty the ordinary Chinese, and the Chinese Church has been greatly ɔncerned with social righteousness and social service; the Chinese hristian is of opinion that the Communist 'Socialism' of his ɔvernment is in all ways to be preferred to the private and ıperialistic 'Capitalism' he hitherto has known. He is no Marxist, ıt he has not the slightest wish to be 'liberated' from his Commun- t regime.

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Such is more or less, as I understand it, the attitude and thought the Chinese Christian, and it is at the moment almost unintelli- ble to the average American Christian. The defeat of Chiang ai-Shek was a terrible blow to the American people; they could ɔt believe that China had voluntarily 'gone Communist'; they ame themselves in a way; if only they had sent a few more ɛroplanes to defeat the Communist usurpers whom they (quite correctly) suppose to have been instigated by Russian arms and ussian machinations, this disaster, they feel sure, could never ıve befallen the poor Chinese nation; and it was the more tragic ɛcause relations between China and the States had been particu- rly friendly, as evidenced over many years by the number of hinese students who had come to study at American Universities.

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For the United States is at war with Communism. In such a ıst country there are of course many varieties of political opinion, ıt the country as a whole suffers from a war-psychology, as we ıll it. They were literally at war in Korea; they would have been ɛrally at war in the early part of 1954 in Indo-China if Sir Winston ıd Sir Anthony Eden had not firmly refused, till every attempt at peaceful solution had been tried. Americans are almost at one their attitude to Communism, though from very different ıotives; there is a curious unanimity between the forces of selfish- ɛss and of idealism. Big business regards Socialism in any form, ıd triumphant or militant Communism in particular, as the great ɛnace to its prosperity or even its existence. But the Americans ɛ also the most idealistic of peoples, and to them Communism

spells tyranny, atheism and oppression. Newly conscious of their vast power and vast responsibility they have it in their hearts to deliver from the oppressor those who lie behind the Iron Curtain and any talk of peace or co-existence with Communism they frankly repudiate as 'appeasement'. Sir Anthony had a very bad press in America when he opposed Mr. Dulles's belligerent policy in Indo-China, and it is next to impossible for most American Christians to believe that Chinese Christians can welcome the new regime in China.

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When Hitler suddenly and treacherously invaded Russia in 1941, Sir Winston Churchill, as will be remembered, immediately made a speech in which he proclaimed that, much as we might dislike Communism, we would stand shoulder to shoulder with the Russians against Hitler and give them every help within our power. That was plainly the right attitude in war-time. It is this same war-time policy which alone makes sense of the paradox of American foreign policy. The idealistic, crusading, freedom-loving United States will stand by anyone who will help against the common enemy which is Communism; hence they find themselves supporting almost all the reactionary causes in the world, Chiang Kai-Shek in Formosa, French unenlightened colonialism in Indo-China, General Franco in Spain, conservatism in South America. It is a topsy-turvy situation and politically very dangerous, aggravated by the bombs called 'H'.

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In Britain, on the continent of Europe, in India men consider the disaster of being bombed with these horrible instruments. In America they take more air-raid precautions than we do, but they talk in responsible quarters not so much of being bombed as of using bombs—and always from the highest motives. It will be remembered that Mr. Dulles is himself a devoted Christian; he has been a lay leader of the Christian churches in America, but he threatens the great Communist power with bombs. I believe that if he or the President could categorically and solemnly declare that they could not conceive of any circumstances in which America would be the first to use the terrible atomic bombs, there would be a remarkable *détente* over all the world.

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In Britain, on the Continent, in Asia it is generally (perhaps incorrectly) believed that, provided we are strong, Russia will not provoke world-war, for indeed the atom bomb has reduced us to a deadlock in the military field. Russia cannot possibly defeat America nor America Russia without the utter devastation of both,

and the rest of the world has no mind to be fought over and destroyed in a war between American (idealism and) Capitalism and Russian (idealism and) Communism. The rest of the world, therefore, talks of co-existence which the Americans call appeasement, and repudiate as such.

All this, it may be said, is politics, not religion, but we cannot separate the two. It is largely on religious grounds of social righteousness that the Chinese Christians support the Communist regime in China; it is largely on religious grounds that the Christians of Europe and India are utterly unwilling to be involved in a war between America and Russia; it is largely on religious grounds that the chivalrous American people would lead the world against the declared enemies of all religion. How differently then can Christians look upon the present scene! To be ecumenically minded means, first of all, that we try to *understand* these varying points of view. N. M.

The International Association for the Study of the History of Religions which has grown out of the several History of Religions Congresses held in different European capitals over the past half-century has a number of affiliated national sub-associations. Professor R. Pettazzoni of Rome, the president, and Professor C. J. Bleeker, of Amsterdam, the secretary, are anxious that Great Britain should be represented. A British section has, therefore, been formed; and it is hoped that British scholars interested in the history of religions and kindred studies will join. Would they please write to the Rev. D. W. Gundry, Neuadd Reichel, University College of North Wales, Bangor, as soon as possible?

Members of the Association may obtain the new journal of the history of religions, *Numen*, for a reduced subscription of 16 Dutch florins (approximately 30s.) instead of the full rate of 20 florins. They are also cordially invited to attend the eighth History of Religions Congress to be held at Rome from 17th to 23rd April, 1955.

EVANSTON, 1954

By John Marsh, M.A., D.Phil.

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held at Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A., from 15th-31st August, 1954. It is, of course, much too early for anyone to make a final theological assessment of its work—after all, theologians are still discussing what was the exact significance of the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325 ! but it may be well for one of the delegates to attempt some sort of interim report.

The Assembly was not 'ecumenical' in the sense that the historian of the early Church would understand the word; it did not have delegates from every Christian Church in its gatherings, though there were representatives from every main Christian tradition save for Rome. "Out of every kindred and nation and tongue" . . . . the members of the Assembly came from 163 churches and 48 different countries. In procession they made a colourful and impressive array, and showed before our eyes how far-flung is the empire of Christ.

Some of the Assembly meetings were open to the public (quite rightly, as I believe) and the public came in large numbers. But though this did an effective and necessary job of 'promoting' the World Council, as the Americans say, it was a slight embarrassment to the prophets and theologians of the Assembly; to the prophets because there were matters (e.g. the Race problem) about which more could be said forcefully in confidence and privacy than was wise or politic to say before an audience of anything up to 10,000 people and a whole army of pressmen, and to the theologians because the great public would neither understand nor relish their carefully drawn distinctions nor their inevitably technical language. And yet, if the Church's being and unity are to be found only in the fulfilment of her mission, as Evanston said, can theology ever become wholly academic? Certainly the presence of thousands of people at sundry meetings reminded us that theologians undertake their thinking for the Church and its members as they live in the modern world with all its tensions. There is nothing to be said for an ultimate dichotomy between 'theoretical' and 'practical' theology, but to imagine that theology is, or can be, purely theoretical is to misconceive its nature. The early ecumenical councils were concerned with technical points of theoretical theology, but it is perfectly clear that the issues discussed were of the utmost importance for the mission, the message and the unity of the Church.

But these are preliminary reflections. We need to remember that Evanston was the Second Assembly of the World Council, and the most recent of a large number of conferences which have taken place within the ecumenical movement in recent times. Part of our judgment on Evanston must therefore consist in comparing its findings with those of the first Assembly at Amsterdam in 1948, and with other conferences of the ecumenical movement.

It is interesting to note from the earliest days of the Christian Church that the subjects discussed by its councils have been prescribed for it, in large measure, by the nature of the contemporary world. Evanston was no exception. But in one way Evanston was an advance on any previous gathering of a similar sort in modern times in that it took for what came to be known as its 'Main Theme' the difficult and searching subject of Christian Hope. "Christ, The Hope of the World" was the title of a report prepared by a special commission of 25 theologians, and presented to the Assembly for its discussion and action. Evanston, like Amsterdam, arranged sectional discussions on various problems confronting the churches today, but at Amsterdam there was no consideration by the Assembly as a whole of a great theological theme as the background of the Assembly's preparation, thought, and conclusions. There will be plenty of commentators who will express the difficulties that were encountered in trying to get a large assembly to consider and report upon such a difficult theme after what was, after all, only a very short time for discussion; that makes it all the more important to remark how very much even that otherwise inadequate discussion of Christian Hope provided a sound background to the discussions of the 'Sections' at Evanston, as the various reports show.

The pessimists prophesied that difference, division and even, perhaps, ecumenical disaster would accompany the discussions on Hope, as I suppose they will report failure and frustration in the event, for the Assembly could do no more than pass on to the churches the Report presented to it together with some rather halting comments and a summary of some points made in the fifteen Main Theme Discussion Groups. But for my own part, while I share the view that the great secular world will unfortunately fail to be impressed or helped by the Report as it stands, I cannot think that anything else could reasonably have been expected of the Main Theme Groups after nine-and-a-half hours' discussion than that they should have located some of their own difficulties and disagreements, and agreed that the document presented to them was worthy of the study of the churches. Anything more than that was surely wishful thinking, and not truly Christian hope!

The Main Theme Groups found that there was a division among them as between those who placed emphasis on the fact that "the

fashion of this world passeth away" and those who stressed their belief that the great ideals of justice and righteousness were capable of realization even in this temporal order. This was not a division between those who said, "Man can do nothing, and God must do all," and those who held that "God only helps those who help themselves, and our job is to get to work to realize Christian hopes;" on the contrary, the duties of Christians in this world, and their responsibility for the quality of human life were stressed by both parties in the debate. But two further comments by the fifteen groups were even more important and revealing—that the Report of the Special Commission used language remote from the world, and that the Report lacked the note of Joy that must surely characterize a religion that affirms that all man's enemies have been decisively overthrown.

It is clear that much more thinking and discussion must go on before the churches are ready to speak clearly and simply about their hope. For myself, I should say that, apart from the problem of conceiving the Christian hope in terms that the world outside will heed and understand, the greatest need for the Christian theologian is to elucidate the relationship of the victory which Christ has already won both to what is to happen at 'the end', and to what will go on until then (if there be a 'then' !) in human history. Until we can say more clearly how the past tense in which we speak of the crucifixion is related to the future tense in which we speak of the consummation and to the present tense in which we speak of Christ's present reign, we shall stumble over our eschatology and differ about our hope. Surely no-one expected Evanston to solve these great problems in three days,

The work that might be called that of the Assembly proper was arranged in six sections, the first of which was concerned with Faith and Order. It is not an irrelevance for a theologian to remark that the majority of all applications for participation in sectional discussions were for membership of Section I. This bespeaks a lively interest, a hope, and I believe, a longing on the part of churchmen all over the world for a full and unambiguous manifestation of the unity of the Church. Has Evanston served these hopes and interests and longings? It has certainly not produced a blue print for a united Christendom; but that is admittedly not the task of the World Council at all. But it has enabled conversation among separated churches to be carried a stage farther, and to find a new basis. From 1927 to 1948—from Lausanne to Amsterdam—we have, in the work of Faith and Order, been engaged in tabulating and recording our agreements and differences. Thus at Amsterdam the section on "The Universal Church in God's Design" could do little more than list its impressive agreements and its persistent disagreements together with an acknowledgment that in some way

to which no universally satisfactory expression could be given, the words 'catholic' and 'protestant' indicated the line of deepest and most serious division. And even in the reports and volumes prepared for Faith and Order's Third World Conference at Lund in 1952 the same catholic-protestant, the same agreement-difference fashion of thinking was with us.

But Lund marked a turning point. The delegates thought, rightly, that such methods of enquiry could go on indefinitely without bringing the unity of the Church one step nearer. So the question was raised—would it be wise to try another quite different approach? Why not begin at the centre of the Church's life and nature? What if the separated churches asked together, not where and how they differed, but in what way the reality of their life, the risen and ascended Lord, was related to their own existence in this world? "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me," said Paul. And as Christ was the reality of his new life in the Church, so is Christ, the New Testament would teach us, the reality of the life of the Church, which is His body. Evanston represents the first stage of Faith and Order's attempt to approach the problem of unity in this way, and its Report will not have its proper effect unless this be understood.

There were two other points at which Evanston seemed to be an advance on Amsterdam. First, the Faith and Order section, and the whole Assembly in endorsing the report of Section I, as well as in formulating the Assembly's Message to the world, wished to pass beyond Amsterdam's "We intend to stay together" to a stronger affirmation of our intention to seek and be led into a manifest unity. Second, the Faith and Order Section was very emphatic in prescribing terms of reference to its drafting committee to insist that it should not repeat an Amsterdam-like list of agreements and differences. "Let us say what we can together," and so bear witness to the unity that even now has been given us. These were not unimportant advances.

The Report divides into three. The first part consists of an attempt to state in brief what the New Testament has to teach us about the unity of the Church. This unity consists in Christ himself, though it is presented in many figures (e.g. the body and the head, the sheep and the shepherd, the building and the cornerstone, etc.). But this unity derives from the whole work of Christ—His incarnation, ministry, teaching, appointment of the Twelve, death, resurrection, ascension, and gift of the Spirit. Such a unity of the Church, given to her for her earthly pilgrimage, has to grow from a unity that is given to a unity that is to be manifested at the last (Eph. IV, 3, 13). Thus the Church shares in the paradox fundamental to the New Testament, of the Old Man and the New, of Christian man as *simul iustus et peccator* (at one and the same

time a sinner and yet a justified person), and so, like individual man, she needs to be 'crucified with Christ' if she is to 'be raised with Him.'

It is not unimportant to remind ourselves at this point that the Orthodox delegates, who had found themselves able to agree with the rest of the Section on that part of its Report that dealt with "Our Oneness in Christ as the New Testament speaks of it" found now that they were unable to proceed in complete agreement. And no wonder. For this manner of thinking about the Church is quite incompatible with the traditional Catholic and Orthodox distinction between the perfection of the Church and the sin of its members. All of us at Evanston recognized the necessity of accounting for the presence of sinful men in the Church and of 'sins' which 'the Church' has committed. Romans and Orthodox ascribe perfection to the Church and sin to her members. But most of us at Evanston thought that unsatisfactory because it withdrew the Church from real historical existence by treating it as an abstraction apart from her members. We rather saw the Church in her members as an historical magnitude, sharing in all the ambiguities of historical existence, and yet, by virtue of the risen, ascended and regnant Lord's identification of himself with her, being presented to Christ a "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing."

There were other implications of this new approach. Churches or denominations may be asked to enter a new manifestation of the given unity of the Church. What then? The Report says: "Concretely this means that when churches, in their actual historical situations, reach a point of readiness and a time of decision, then their witness may require obedience unto death. They may then have to be prepared to offer up some of their accustomed, inherited forms of life in uniting with other churches, without complete certainty as to all that will emerge from the step of faith." To some this was hard doctrine, and the validity of applying the idea of dying and rising with Christ to the being and history of the Church was challenged, but the Report reads as quoted!

Lastly, the Report of Section I draws a distinction between "diversity which is not sinful because it reflects both the diversities of gifts of the Spirit in the one body and diversities of creation by the one Creator," and division, which is sinful, for "when diversity disrupts the manifest unity of the body, then it changes its quality and becomes sinful division." It is sinful "because it obscures from men the sufficiency of Christ's atonement, inasmuch as the Gospel of reconciliation is denied in the very lives of those who proclaim it." This recognition of the sinfulness of division is quite different (though one or two members of the Section found this hard to comprehend) from apportioning blame to those who have been implicated in the past divisions of the Church. "God in his

mercy has used such divisions to save souls, to build up communities who worship Him, and to preserve or recover aspects of His truth. All this we can and must say. But He has also given us today a fresh awareness of the sin, which characterizes the divided state, which we have inherited.... Confession of oneness with Christ carries with it confession of solidarity with our brethren in sin."

So the Section on Faith and Order at Evanston marked an advance not only on Amsterdam, but on all previous ecumenical conferences; not only because we were more ready and eager to say things together, to say also that we would, under the Spirit's guidance, seek unity; but also because a fresh and, I judge, a more promising beginning has been made with the task of articulating a theology of truly ecumenical dimensions.

The second Section I wish to deal with is that concerned with a 'Responsible Society.' This term was coined at Amsterdam in 1948 to provide a positive alternative to the two terms 'communism' and 'capitalism.' A responsible society was defined as one "where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and to the people whose welfare is affected." It is the Church's duty to pray and work for such a society, which is not a particular social order, but a norm by which particular social orders can be judged. And in working for such a social order, "because our hope is in Christ, we are saved from frustration where our efforts to influence public opinion or social action are seemingly in vain, and we are saved from despair when all human hopes collapse." In such far-reaching ways as this did the earlier discussion on "Christ the Hope of the World" penetrate sectional meetings.

In 1937 the Oxford Conference on Life and Work had for its dominant theme, "Church, Community and State." The totalitarianisms of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin had made that unavoidable. At Evanston, for many reasons, a great deal still had to be said about the power and authority of the State. The issue for Christians is not simply whether a régime is, as men say, a totalitarian dictatorship or not, but rather as to the extent and nature of the authority and power of the State. It is satisfactory to report that Evanston, like Amsterdam, 'kept its head.' It would have been very easy to register a sentimental unanimity against State interference, but the Section repeated, in the spirit of Oxford in 1937: "While the State is sometimes the enemy of freedom, under many circumstances the State is the only instrument which can make freedom possible for large sectors of the population. The State is not the source of social justice, but it must be its guardian. . . . When necessary in the public interest, the State must intervene to prevent any centre of economic or social power which represents

partial interest from becoming stronger than itself, for the State alone has the power and the authority, under God, to act as trustee for society as a whole."

But at Evanston in 1954 we recognized that the social orders of men were preoccupied with the tension between Communist and non-Communist. Just as it was necessary to deal explicitly with Nazism at Oxford in 1937, so it was necessary to deal explicitly at Evanston with Communism. Evanston reaffirmed Amsterdam's rejection of Communism, and the reasons for that rejection. But it went further and, in a land far more nervous than Britain, pointed out how easy it was, in rejecting Communism, to become infected with the same evils as are condemned. Any unpopular opinions can be dubbed 'subversive.' Further, the section pointed out the inadequacy of a merely military defence against Communism. Non-Communist nations "can have greater influence on the course of the present world conflict if they show their ability to deal justly with the legitimate aspiration of dependent peoples, to cope successfully and creatively with their own social problems, and to remain self-critical."

The continuing interest of these reports of ecumenical conferences is their demonstration of the application of the Christian understanding of man and his nature to the problems of man's society and history. It is important, too, to remember that this provides a basis for common discussion between Christians from either side of the Iron Curtain. Czechs and Hungarians alike took part in the discussions at Evanston, and shared in the production of the Sectional reports. Here the World Council was able, as the "Chicago Sun" said in a final article on the Assembly, to preach to the world a sermon, not in words only, but in deeds.

As the Section on International Affairs began its report, we saw again how great an influence the conception of Christ as Hope of the World had had upon all the deliberations of the Assembly. After describing the menacing situation of contemporary man, the Report says: "Our confidence lies not in our own reason or strength but in the power that comes from God. Impelled by this faith, all our actions will be but humble, grateful and obedient acknowledgment that He has redeemed the world. The fruit of our efforts rests in His hands. We can therefore live and work as those who know that God reigns, undaunted by all the arrogant pretensions of evil, ready to face situations that seem hopeless, and yet to act in them as men whose hope is indestructible." That is finely said, and it is another fruit of the preliminary discussions of the Assembly about "Christ the Hope of the World."

The report of this section begins by speaking directly to a situation full of menace and the threat of war. It carries its analysis back to man's ignorance of God and rebellion against Him, though

it does not on that account fail to consider what men can now do. The Report asks the nations to forswear the use of atomic weapons, and all other means of mass destruction. It upholds the authority of the United Nations Charter in any case of the use of such weapons, and asks that United Nations Observer-teams should be sent to any area of tension so that any act of aggression should be exposed for what it is.

This Report also had to deal with the Communist-non-Communist tension. Many Americans feared lest the World Council should openly proclaim its support for 'peaceful co-existence,' a term which many of them thought was a sort of linguistic infiltration agent cleverly offered to the Western democracies. The Section failed neither America nor its duty. It affirmed its profound conviction that Christian theology implied the need for men to "live together," even though it would also regard such a minimal tolerance as but a poor substitute for a full fellowship of common life. Christians must never hide from themselves the "vast difference between the search for an international order based on belief in Christ and His reconciling work, and the pursuit of aims which repudiate the Christian revelation. There can be no abandonment of the right to assert this fundamental difference and the faith on which it rests."

International affairs give the churches a sphere of obedience to Jesus Christ. Their duty is to manifest the kingdom of God among men, and their own fellowship must therefore be a union of all in a bond more patient and resistant than any other. The Church must be free from all differences based on sex, colour, race or class, and show in her own life the real possibility of reconciliation and forgiveness. To such witness of her own life she must add a concern for the lot of all men, and strive towards their liberty and peace, and towards justice for all. So the international duties of the Church serve to remind her of her own duty to Jesus Christ to manifest the unity that He has given her.

Another Section at Evanston dealt with a theme new in such ecumenical assemblies, 'Inter-Group Relations'; or, in effect, the problem of race. It was a bold step to put this on the agenda, for many of the member churches in the World Council are involved in race tensions in their own lands, notably in South Africa. The report maintains throughout a high prophetic note, and is quite clear and uncompromising in its stand. It begins by reminding its readers that the race problem is not simply one alongside others, but one that adds intensity to all the others. Indeed, I felt myself that the evidence seemed to show that by far the worst eruption that could take place at the present time was not the explosion of a hydrogen bomb, but the explosion of the coloured man's patience,

when we might well have a war of brutality and extermination such as the world has not yet known.

There are many hopes offered to the under-privileged races, but the Christian faith alone has a secure hope to offer. "In Christ there is no east or west," we sang at many services; and the Section wrote it into its report with fearless consistency. It was bold to condemn any segregation of men on the grounds of race or colour. But it was not content with condemnation of others; it went on to examine the churches' own practices with utter candour, and pointed out how sometimes the Churches use the world's unregenerateness in these matters to excuse their own. It is all too easy to excuse the existence of 'white' or 'coloured' churches on the ground of residential habits, or social custom. But the Church must purge herself of all such conformity to the world.

The Church must further realize her duties in face of laws that are based upon segregation, and make her own testimony to the Christian way. She must also support any of her members who are called to disobey such laws for conscience' sake. In particular the Church must make it clear that there can be no religious barrier to intermarriage; though if any Church members contemplate such marriage the Church must warn them of the difficulties accompanying it in the present state of society, difficulties "often caused by the hardness of men's hearts and by cultural differences." The Report closes with a recognition that an ecumenical fellowship like the Church has a special opportunity to witness to the basic unity of mankind in God's world. But, as it says, "what greater hope there would be if only our Christian unity were achieved, a unity transcending the ethnic and racial differences of all believers!" Once more the Assembly heard the call to unity through the pressures of our times.

Another subject studied for the first time in a World Council Assembly Section was that of the 'Laity.' Not only was this a new subject, but the Section Report invited us to think about the laity in a new way. In the New Testament the Church is sometimes called the 'people' of God. The Greek word is λαός, from which our word 'laity' comes. So, fundamentally, the idea of laity includes the whole church, and when we speak of the ministry of the laity we are really speaking of the ministry of the whole church. If this kind of thinking were carried through to its logical conclusion we should begin to have a modern counterpart of the Reformation conception of the 'priesthood of all believers.' It is not surprising, but perhaps a little disappointing, that the Report of this Section did not maintain as much consistency as that on Race. But nevertheless it has much wisdom to offer. It faces the fact that many areas of human life now exist that have grown up entirely apart from the Church, so that for many people daily work has lost its

eligious significance. Then false conceptions of the relative value of certain jobs add to the wrong valuations many put upon their own, or other peoples', work. The Church sometimes adds to the difficulties by thinking of works in church-life as the only ones that are really 'religious.'

In speaking of the training of the laity for the tasks of witness that confront us, the Report pleads for sound training in basic Christianity, especially of those who take on places of importance in the workaday world. The home must grow to be a place where a true sense of values in regard to work can be imbibed from earliest days, and theological students should be trained to have a better knowledge of present-day working society. Professional and trade groups of Christians are recommended, as are special retreats, conferences, and consultations among workers. This is not perhaps the most finished of the Reports, but it has made a significant beginning with a task that I hope will be carried much further before the next Assembly of the World Council.

The last Report on which I wish to comment is that concerned with Evangelism. Evangelism is not only one of the activities in which the Church can engage, it is also a dimension of everything that the Church or the individual Christian does. For in all that we say and do we are either commending or failing to commend our Lord. One tremendous hindrance to our evangelistic task is our present disunity. "Therefore the Church will deal with these divisions with holy impatience, and passionately strive for unity." Evangelism means overcoming our own disunity, and combating disunity in the world. It means bringing men and women to share in the life of a local Christian congregation; but "underlying these concerns of evangelism is the bringing of persons to Christ as Saviour and Lord, and making them sharers in His eternal life. Here is the heart of the matter. There must be personal encounter with Christ."

But how to communicate the Gospel to those outside? Four things are seen to be necessary. First, an encounter with the world, in which the Church must cease to be wrapped up in itself, and meet men where they are; second, the message the Church speaks must be intimately related to the world of modern man; third, the message must be embodied in works of service, compassion, and identification; fourth, the Church's life must be nourished on the Bible. The Report then considers what it calls the 'frontiers' of evangelism, i.e., places where advance can be made. There is our own inner life as the first frontier; the laity constitute another, as do the teacher, the chaplains in special places such as hospitals, prisons, factories, Universities, etc., and, finally, in experiments made by the local congregation. The Church is exhorted to make full use of Press, radio and television, to train its own ministry for

the tasks of evangelism, and to be alive to the implications of the reformatory movements in some other great religions of the world.

The Report closes by reaffirming Christ, the Hope of the World as the centre of the Church's evangel. "The time of evangelism will not last for ever; it will be succeeded by the time of the Kingdom fulfilled. The good news will not remain for ever a promise: it will become a promise kept. . . . Therefore are Christians under constraint to declare this hope to the world until the consummation of the Kingdom and the coming of the King."

What must we say to all this? Let us begin by noting that the two themes that recur again and again in the Reports are those of the call to unity and of Christ, our Hope. From the applications for membership of Sections at Evanston, from the Reports themselves, from the way in which the public, as well as the delegates, applauded appeals for unity, it seems perfectly clear to me that we are living in a world where the minds of Christians are ready for unity. If we cannot utilize this tremendous opportunity we shall be shockingly blameworthy. But it is not simply unity as an abstract idea that emerged from Evanston, but unity and mission as twin ideas. The mission of the Church all over the world is compromised because the Church is not one. Can we preach the reconciling power of God's love in Christ, and remain divided and suspicious and contentious as we have been, and to some extent still are? For the sake of those who cannot hear our message about forgiveness and reconciliation must not we ourselves first learn from Christ forgiveness and reconciliation? Certainly in the days to come we are going to hear a great deal more about the real 'togetherness' of unity and mission. Congregationalists will have to think again about the relation of their churches to the work of the London Missionary Society. Finally, we need to preach to ourselves that the hope for unity and mission alike is not our ingenuity or persistence, but Christ. His power, His strength, His guidance make the whole splendid adventure worth while, and sure. He makes it possible to take the unforeseeable and impossible step to unity, and He is the guarantee that when we yield to Him and seek unity, we shall not lose but gain. The gifts are in His hands, and He will not be illiberal.

In conclusion I would like to remind Congregationalists of the distinguished part played by their representatives at the Assembly. Leslie Cooke, Robert Calhoun, Douglas Horton, Elsie Chamberlain, Ralph Hyslop, Norman Goodall, Elfan Rees, Edgar Chandler, Daniel Jenkins, Cunliffe Jones—these were among the Assembly 'personalities', and very nobly they served the World Council and represented us. If Evanston spells mission and unity, our churches, with this leadership, should be in the van of post-Evanston advance in both.

IMPRESSIONS OF EVANSTON

By H. Cunliffe-Jones, B.D., B.Litt.

The first impression which the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches has left upon my mind is how urgent and important this organization is. If it did not exist we should need to invent it. The Bishop of Chichester (Dr. G. K. A. Bell), who was Chairman of its Central Committee from 1948-54, has told the story of the first six years of the Council in a vivid and enthralling way in his 'Penguin' entitled *The Kingship of Christ*. In an appendix he has given two diagrams to illustrate the numerical aspects of the religious situation of the world. From them it is clear that two-thirds of the world is not even nominally Christian, and that Protestant Christianity as a whole amounts to no more than one in twelve in the population of the world. If Protestant Christianity is so small a part of the world's population, then it is tragic that in the great tensions of the present world upheaval, it should be as divided as it is. Of the Protestant one-twelfth, the major groups are Lutherans 32 per cent, Presbyterians just over 19 per cent, Baptists just under 19 per cent, Methodists and Anglicans 14 per cent, Congregationalists 2.5 per cent. The great strength of the World Council of Churches is that it seeks to consolidate the Protestant witness, and find common ground between it and the 'Catholic' groups—including the Anglicans with their Catholic emphasis, the Orthodox, and the Roman Catholics. The Anglicans have, of course, taken a full part in the World Council. The Orthodox, with numbers amounting to two-thirds of the total Protestant forces, are partly represented, and have had a stimulating influence, but they are very conscious that they cannot compromise their claim to be the One Church of Christ. The Roman Catholic Church, with twice the total membership of all Protestant groups, at the moment refuses to have any official relations with the World Council, and will not even send observers to its Assembly.

Against this background, to be at Evanston was to realize how urgently necessary it is for Christians to know one another and to think together in face of the difficult world problems that affect us all, and how grateful we must be that we have made such progress to that end. At Evanston Christians from all over the world, representing 163 member churches in 48 countries, were setting about the difficult task of thinking together and achieved surprisingly successful results, considering the difficulties. Mingled with this certainty of the importance and urgency of the work of the World Council of Churches, and with gratitude for and pride

in what it has achieved, was the equally clear certainty that the World Council is no substitute for a greater measure of unity. It is both wicked and stupid that we should be as divided as we are, and in some way we must move closer together.

The second impression which Evanston has left upon my mind is how thankful we should be to the Central Committee which has worked out a sound flexible structure by which the World Council of Churches can serve its member-churches. This is a very great achievement indeed. We have been wonderfully served by the outgoing Central Committee. Bishop Bell concluded his report as chairman by saying: "I have been intimately concerned with the Ecumenical Movement for thirty-five years. The individual members and officers, the councils and committees, in the earlier phases, rendered an unforgettable service to the cause of Christian unity. Without these pioneers there would be no World Council today. But, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, I do not hesitate to say that the partnership of members of many churches on the out-going Central Committee has involved an even more precious spiritual experience and carries a deeper significance for Christendom. We must expect difficulties of various kinds. Yet what has engraved itself so clearly on my mind in the six years has been the steady growth of mutual trust, and deep understanding, as well as a greater sense of urgency. In subjects which ordinarily afford ample grounds for controversy, whether political or theological, complete freedom, frankness and charity have prevailed. There has been no thought even in the most difficult matters of one *bloc* lining up against another *bloc;* but always the sense of being a *World* Council of Churches, not of a Council of the West or of the East, or of the North or of the South, and of a common desire to know the mind of Christ and to follow its leading to the best of our ability in all our relationships. It has been a very great privilege to be the chairman of such a brotherhood of Christians."

Under the direction of this Central Committee a sound structure for the World Council of Churches has been worked out. The Assembly is to meet every six years, and the direction of policy is in the hands of a Central Committee of 90 which meets once a year. Sixty-three members of the new Central Committee are new, so that new leadership and fellowship will be given in the coming period. The Central Committee elects its Executive Committee which meets twice a year. The General Secretariat has two special committees, one on Finance and the other on Information. The Information committee was planned at Amsterdam, but has not come into being for lack of funds. It is urgently necessary that it be developed now. In addition to the headquarters in Geneva, there is an office in New York, and (jointly with the International

Missionary Council) a Secretary for East Asia has been appointed. A joint committee of the International Missionary Council of the World Council of Churches is also in being for common counsel, and also the important Commission of the Churches on International Affairs which functions on behalf of both bodies.

There are three main divisions in the World Council of Churches' activities: studies, ecumenical action, and inter-church aid and service to refugees.

The Studies Division has four sections—faith and order, church and society, evangelism, and missionary studies. The inclusion of missionary studies is part of the integration of the International Missionary Council with the World Council of Churches which was finally approved at Evanston. If in the next six years the concern of the International Missionary Council with the Mission of the Church is taken up by the other sections, and the Missionary Studies section becomes fully concerned with faith and order, church and society and evangelism, the result may be of very great importance indeed.

The Department of Ecumenical Action contains four very different elements. It is not divorced from study but it involves at the same time an emphasis on the working-out of study in the churches and in the world. It includes the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey, near Geneva, the youth department, the department on the co-operation of men and women in the life of the church, and the department on work for the laity. In all these activities the World Council of Churches seeks to make direct contact with its constituency in the churches.

The third division contains one permanent and one temporary element. The World Council of Churches has continued to be responsible for service to refugees long after official government action has ceased—because the need is very great and will be with us for many years still to come. But even when that need ceases it will still be necessary and desirable for the churches in the Council to help one another whatever their differences of theology and churchmanship. The department of Inter-church Aid is an essential part of the vitality of the World Council.

A third impression from Evanston is how careful and economical is the financial expenditure of the World Council. The total budget of this vast-ranging structure is £150,000 a year. Many of the committees clamoured for additional staff and resources, but the World Council wants to be assured of its resources before going forward. It has built up in six years a small reserve of £40,000 which is, of course, totally inadequate for an organization subject to all the stress of international tension. The American Churches have taken a large share in financing the World Council, and they have done so generously and without making capital out

of it. But all delegations in the Council felt that the proportion must not be too large, and that all member-churches must have a reasonable share in the cost of the Council. The amount of money necessary from any denomination is small in comparison with the service rendered.

A fourth impression of Evanston is of the courage of the World Council in tackling great and difficult theological themes. The abiding results of attempting a world discussion on the difficult subject of eschatology, under the title, "Jesus, the Hope of the World," will be very great indeed. The subject was prepared for by a committee of twenty-five theologians who had met annually over three years and eventually produced a report to express their common agreement. The stimulus which this theological activity has already given to the exposition of Christian eschatology is plain to everyone. At Evanston itself the delegates on the whole found the document unsatisfactory as a basis for their own discussions, and so the Assembly did not itself give a special lead on the matter. This was partly due to the fact that the document was not prepared with the requirements of a starting-point for discussion by delegates sufficiently in mind. In addition, the amount of time available for group discussion was not sufficient for a group-unity based on essential understanding and trust to emerge. But in spite of the fact that the Assembly did nothing creative in the realm of Christian hope, the situation should not be misconstrued. There were those who prophesied that the Assembly would be split wide open on the issue. But nothing like this occurred. The Assembly was full of massive Christian common-sense. There were three special emphases: some wanted to emphasize the fact of the final victory of Christ, some wanted to emphasize Christian hopes for the life of the world, and some wanted to emphasize the present realization of Christian hope in the Church. Now in spite of the fact that the Assembly did not feel that it had mastered the technical difficulties of discussing the subject, there was a broad consensus in favour of including all these emphases; so that, on balance, the fact of technical difficulties in the way of a general world discussion of a major theological theme must not be allowed to overshadow the fact that it happened, that it happened in real harmony, and that it will be productive of a greater measure of theological agreement throughout the world.

A fifth impression is one of deep thankfulness for the positive character of the Assembly's lead on international and inter-racial issues. No pronouncement of a Christian World Assembly can overlook the fact that Christians are divided on the pacifist-non-pacifist issue. What the Assembly did was to insist that all Christians are agreed that we need a world in which mass weapons

of destruction are prohibited and where peaceful methods exist for necessary political change. This is God's world, and somehow the statesmen of the world must bring it into line with God's purposes. Here is no political directive, but a Christian affirmation. The Assembly also affirmed its conviction that racial segregation must be repudiated, and that the practice of its member-churches needs to be brought into line with the only possible Christian affirmations. And it went on record as declaring that there are no Christian objections in principle to inter-marriage. This is a most important affirmation, carried without any dissent.

A sixth impression is one of astonished gratitude for the way in which the sections on the laity and on 'the responsible society' are in advance of common Christian thinking on the problem of demonstrating a Christian way of life in the modern world. It was emphasized that the main responsibility of a Christian by way of Christian witness is to look at what occupies the greater part of his life from a Christian point of view—this is the major service which he owes to himself, to his fellows, and to the Church. If Christian witness is halting, it is because Christians do not want to do this, or do not know how to do it. With this emphasis on Christian witness in daily work may be associated the singling out of the family and the Christian congregation as the seed-beds of the responsible society. In this setting three major world issues were emphasized—the need to see that political and economic trends promoted equity and did not override the worth of personal life; the need that churches in both East and West should face the awkward questions which concerned the most likely ways in which they would tend to compromise the Christian allegiance; and the need for Christians to be concerned that social reconstruction in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa, and some parts of Latin America, should proceed apace. This is most valuable common Christian thinking on the task of exhibiting in the life of the world the difference which Christian faith makes.

A seventh impression is that the central and most difficult task of the World Council of Churches concerns Evangelism and Faith and Order. There are differing conceptions of evangelism in the Council as is evident from the variety of things which appear in the section's report. And there are differing conceptions of unity—though an attempt has been made to overcome this by starting from our unity in Christ. The report on the section on Faith and Order is essentially a controlled but passionate plea that the kind of divisions which we have at present are a denial that the Cross of Christ has power to bring His Church into a unity of fellowship as one flock.

The greatest word on Faith and Order was, however, said by the section on Evangelism. It is as churches challenge themselves

first, and also one another, by the standard of the mission which God gives to His Church, that unity will come. A new vision of the resources with which God makes His Church effective for His Mission, and a new vision of the task which God wants to be done in His world will create the practical steps necessary not only for mission but also for unity. And this is how the section on evangelism said it:—

"Evangelism is no specialized or separable or periodic activity, but is rather a dimension of the total activity of the church. Everything the church does is of evangelizing significance. Through all the aspects of its life the church participates in Christ's mission to the world, both partaking of the Gospel and seeking to communicate it. Evangelism is the place where the church discovers itself in its true depth and outreach.

"But this witness of the church to its Lord is weakened by our faithlessness—not least by our divisions. Therefore, the church will deal with these divisions with holy impatience, and passionately strive for unity. Unity is destroyed where there are confessional antagonisms, nor will unity of faith and life among Christians be achieved except as churches increasingly work together to bring the Gospel to the whole world."

An eighth impression from Evanston is that there are technical difficulties in the working-out of a large world-wide Assembly—some of which have not been fully solved. For example, what size should the Assembly be? There were at Evanston 1,300 people plus hundreds of visitors for the Open Session. There were only 502 delegates—but there were 499 accredited visitors. As the accredited visitors could not attend the group, committee, or section meetings, an accredited visitors' programme was prepared, which was said to be vastly more interesting than the delegates', and to which a number of delegates went, neglecting their own responsibility. If the members could be cut by half—say, 500 delegates plus 150 others, mutual knowledge, trust and effectiveness would be greatly increased.

Again, so much depends upon the physical amenities of the site of the Council. In many ways North Western University gave us excellent facilities—and nothing could have exceeded the self-sacrificing generosity of the people of Evanston itself. The one drawback was that the McGaw Hall where we had our plenary sessions was a mile and a quarter out, and, though buses were liberally provided, the situation did not make for ease of communication between members of all delegations.

A perennial difficulty is, of course, language. There were three official languages, English, French, and German. But the overwhelming majority of the Council understood English—so that there was a great temptation in other than prepared speeches (of

which translations had been written beforehand) for speakers to speak so quickly that no adequate translation could be given, and for the chairmen of plenary sessions to proceed faster than was intelligible to delegations not fully at home in English.

Again, there is the problem of plenary sessions. Plenary sessions sound well from the point of view of publicity, but they cannot do much, and what they do may be done badly. At Evanston we spent most of the time discussing detailed amendments, some of which, owing to the difficulty of listening to the speaker through headphones, and listening to the Chairman and one's colleagues by ordinary hearing at one and the same time, were imperfectly grasped by the drafting committee seated on the platform.

One further problem is the unsolved question of how to use the work of the theologians to full advantage. Obviously the World Council must both respect and make use of theology, and the technical experts in that field must be allowed full freedom in their technical discussions. But the technical language of theology ought not to be allowed to impede or to overweigh general discussions of major Christian themes, and it ought to be recognized that a Christian theologian may be prevented by his own technical competence from giving a satisfactory general introduction to a major Christian theme. Certainly the World Council has not yet discovered the proper relation of theological work to the functioning of the Assembly.

My ninth impression is about something that underlies all that has so far been said—the incommunicable sense of the impact of personalities from other communions and other countries upon those present. For this is what is called the ecumenical encounter. However many times one has experienced it, it comes as a new thing when it happens. No one realizes what he has to learn from other communions or other countries till he is brought into friendly relationship with others who embody experiences widely different from his own. This is immensely enriching to those who share in it. Just what it means cannot be communicated by words. The only way to know about it is to experience it for oneself. All one can say is that many who came to Evanston, and perhaps especially those for whom this was their first experience of a great ecumenical gathering, will think and feel and act in relation to the great Christian enterprise of claiming the world for Christ very differently because at Evanston they met Christians who made them vividly aware of different problems in Christian living and different emphases in Christian thinking from those which had hitherto been an effective part of their personal experience.

What, then, is the upshot of Evanston? The World Council of Churches is clearly a means of inter-church aid in a distracted

world. It cannot do for any local church or denomination what that church or denomination must do for itself. But it is a means by which the great Christian communions can strengthen one another by common thinking, consultation, and action. And this mutual help is very necessary and of great positive importance.

In addition, the World Council is a means of promoting greater effectiveness and greater unity in fulfilling God's mission in His Church to the world. This may be difficult to test, but it is of crucial importance. It is not only the life of the world which is not greatly influenced by the Church which can be in opposition to the intention of God, there are some things within the churches which hinder His will being done. And the World Council exists that the churches associated in it shall become a more flexible instrument in the hand of God for His purposes.

In the message sent out from Evanston two things were made plain. One was that the churches do not live outside or beyond the common lot of humanity, but that sharing that common lot they call the world to experience the hope in Christ which is their precious possession. The other was that the possession of this hope confronts the churches continually with uncomfortable questions:—

"Is your church seriously considering its relation to other churches in the light of our Lord's prayer that we may be sanctified in the truth and that we may all be one?

Does your church speak and act against injustice? Do you pray regularly for those who suffer unjust discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or political conviction?

Does your congregation live for itself, or for the world around it and beyond it?

Is your congregation a true family of God, where every man can find a home, and know that God loves him without limit?"

To become ecumenically-minded every church must pay continual heed to this kind of question. For the purpose of the World Council of Churches is not fulfilled by churches becoming learned about the history and activities of the Ecumenical Movement. The overriding intention of Evanston was to help the churches of the world to enter in fuller measure into the breadth and length and depth and height of the love of God.

OUR DEPENDENCE IS UPON GOD[1]

By Reinhold Niebuhr, D.D.

We represent fragmented portions of a universal church, a covenant community, gathered out of many races and climes, to bear witness to the faith, that we have seen the "Glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." We declare this faith against the wisdom of the world, which does not acknowledge the mystery of the Creator and the Judge, whom we meet at the final limits of our conscience and consciousness, and which therefore thinks our faith foolish. We declare that the mystery has been clarified, and the loving purposes of God have been revealed to us in the life, death and resurrection of our Lord, and that we have, through Him, a sure knowledge of the truth, and a mediator of the Divine grace, entering our life as pardon and as power.

We acknowledge this God who has been revealed in Christ, both as the Lord of our life, whose goodness and severity are equally necessary for our redemption; and as the Lord and sovereign of this strange drama of our human history, of all our collective destinies. The scoffers find our faith strange. But we live in a day in which every effort to give this drama a simpler meaning and a simpler ending than the Biblical faith gives it, proves itself to be the source of both confusion and evil. That is why it is so necessary to emphasize that in the final instance our dependence is upon God and not man, not upon human virtue, not upon human power to bring this fragmentary human life to a conclusion, to purge it of its evils and to complete its incompleteness.

Our insistence that it is God's power and grace, and not any human virtue or power, which can give meaning to our existence and redemption from our sins, must not be misunderstood (as it is frequently understood) as encouraging irresponsibility. The same Lord, who is the pledge of God's grace to us, is also our example. He bids us "work while it is day for the night cometh when no one can work." He assures us that we are co-workers together with Him. And the Scripture warns us that we have not resisted unto blood fighting against sin. Man, in the Christian view, is undoubtedly a creator, and he undoubtedly participates in the strange drama, in which he is also a creature, the mystery of which he cannot fully discern and the destinies of which he cannot fully bring under his control.

We must be responsible to the limits of the power with which

1 A paper read for the writer to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, August, 1954, and printed here by permission.

God has endowed us. If we affirm nevertheless that our dependence is upon God rather than men, we merely look at the whole drama of life in the wisdom borrowed from the Cross. There we see that the divine goodness was in conflict, not chiefly with obvious human evil but with human goodness. It was Roman justice, the best justice of its day, and Hebraic religion, the highest religion of its day, which were implicated in the Crucifixion. And all through the Christian ages we have additional testimony of this truth revealed in the Cross. The tragedies in human history, the cruelties, the fanaticisms have not been caused by the criminals, who were incidentally crucified with Christ; but by the good people who crucified Him, by idealists who did not understand the strange mixture of self-interest and ideals which is compounded in all human motives; by reformers who fail to understand the necessity of personal reformation; by priests who do not know that "Judgment begins in the House of God"; by prophets, who do not know the word of the Lord but speak "out of the imagination of their own hearts"; by the wise, who do not know the limits of their wisdom; and by the righteous who do not know that in "God's sight no man living is justified."

It is in the light of this overwhelming testimony in history to this truth, first discerned by the prophets and then conclusively proved in Christ's revelation, that we insist that the Church's duty is to point to God, our Creator, Judge and Redeemer, as the source of our peace, rather than to any human virtue or power.

Recently I had a visit from a distinguished Abbot of a Japanese Buddhist monastery. He was an amiable man, free of all malice. But he revealed a most natural confusion about the very meaning of the Christian faith. The Christian West, he declared, unlike the mystic East, believed in God and trusted in God to right all wrongs, thus absolving men of responsibility. The result was a quietistic complacency and injustice, which prompted the communist rebellion against our civilization. I spent some time trying to set him straight on the virtues and vices of the historical dynamism of the Christian world; how the prayer, "Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven," taught us by the Lord Himself, expressed the life, and history-affirming faith of Christianity; how the injustices which had produced rebellion against our civilization were not due to inactivity but to another type of complacency, the complacency which identified the *status quo* of a feudal or a capitalistic civilization with God's kingdom; how sectarian Christianity created a ferment of revolt against these injustices, but mixed with its justified sense of injustice an unjustified reliance upon the virtues of the righteous, in most instances of the poor; how the original symbol of the fall of Adam, as the cause of a universal corruption of sin, was subtly changed by seventeenth century

sectarians into the subsequent story of Cain and Abel, so that a sharp, too sharp, distinction could be made between the righteous and the unrighteous; and how modern communism, which he erroneously regarded as a justified protest against Christian faith was in effect but the last fruit of a Christian heresy, which was intent upon taking the kingdom of God by violence, and remained unaware that its Utopian prophets, turned priest-kings of an atheistic theocracy, changed the righteousness of the poor into the cruelty of the powerful because it did not understand the ambiguity of all human virtue and the foolishness of all human wisdom.

I did not tell the Buddhist Abbot, for I could not expect him to understand these curious ironies of Western history, that we did have to contend with a tyranny, Nazism, which was based upon law-defiance or moral cynicism. It gave many of the righteous people the illusion that the chief problem of human history came from law defiance. But just as we had vanquished this tyranny another one arose, derived, not from moral cynicism, but from a fierce idealism, which knew nothing of the ambiguity of human virtues. It resulted in cruelties as grievous as those of the cynics. We had not yet learned the lesson which the similarity of the fruits from such contradictory causes should have taught us.

It is tempting for us as Christians to regard the evils of communism as but the final fruits of modern secular idealism and as a final refutation of the hopes of a secular age that, if modern men could only be beguiled from their faith in God and in the consummations of another world, and could give their undivided attention to the betterment of their lot in this world, all ancient evils would be rectified. The refutation of this faith and these hopes, not only by the undoubted evils of communism but by the very predicament of possible global atomic wars, is very instructive for the understanding of the whole character of the drama of human history and for the peril of human pretensions of power and virtue. Surely the most dangerous actors in this drama are the men who do not acknowledge the limits of man's power, wisdom, and virtue, who usurp the divine majesty and feel themselves in no need of the divine pardon.

But we must not make too much of this part of the modern refutations of secular pretensions. If we do, we shall falsify the Gospel and make the Christian cause to appear to be a contest between the God-fearing believers and the unrighteous unbelievers. That interpretation would be contrary to both Scripture and to experience. It would not heed the word of the prophets that God's judgment is upon the circumcised as well as upon the uncircumcised, and the word of the New Testament: "There is none righteous, no not one . . . for all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God." Nor would such an interpretation do justice to the facts

of our history, to the fact of the religiously sanctified forms of injustice, at which modern secularism revolted, and the various forms of religious fanaticism and persecution of which we have been guilty. All these evidences prove that it is not only those who deny God, but those who profess Him but claim Him too simply as an ally of their purposes and as an aid for their ambitions, who bring evil into the world.

These facts of history and these Scriptural injunctions must warn us that it is not the business of the Christian Church to bear witness to the righteousness of Christians but to the righteousness of God, which judges all men; and to the grace of Christ which saves all who truly repent of their sins. It is true, of course, that an unrighteous Christian may frustrate the course of the Gospel and that a divided Church may be a scandal to the cause of Christ. There must be "fruits meet for repentance" in our lives individually and collectively as testimony of the grace and truth in Christ. But all of us must have noticed the very revealing embarrassment which occurs when we point to our individual or collective virtue as a witness to the Gospel. Augustine, a long while ago, pointed to this embarrassment. If we call attention to the saints in the Church, he declared, the world will remind us of the hypocrites in it.

If we apply the lesson of the reliability of God and the unreliability of men, even in their wisest and most virtuous moments, to the problem which brings us together as a divided Church, seeking to purge ourselves of the human pretensions which have divided us and obscured the truth in our Gospel, we shall appreciate how much the movement which has purged us of our divisions and which has restored the full substance of the Gospel against our cherished heresies and parochialisms has been the movement of God's grace against our sins.

We must begin by the rehearsal of the historic movements which destroyed the unity of the Church for the sake of restoring the purity of the Gospel, so that we do not make the mistake of assuming that the majesty and unity of the Church as the body of Christ is necessary to His glory. The unity of the Roman Church is indeed impressive, and in some respects enviable, in comparison with our unhappy divisions. But the Roman Church maintained this unity and a part of the substance of the Gospel truth at the price of building two great heresies into the Christian message. The one heresy was to exalt the Church as the "extension of the Incarnation," as essentially divine, as the mediator of God's judgment, rather than as the focus in human history where the judgments of God can be heard, whether upon the righteous or the unrighteous. This heresy was to obscure the chasm between the human and the divine, which the Prophets of Israel understood so well; to pretend that there were priests who were privy to God's

counsels, were in control of God's redemptive powers and purposes; and were in possession of the "keys to heaven." The other heresy was either consequent or ancillary. It changed the Gospel of forgiveness to contrite souls into a great scheme for assuring men of their salvation if they would climb a 'ladder of merit,' chiefly by castigating the passions of the body. This ladder of merit, these ascetic disciplines, did not however guarantee that the self in the pretensions of its self-esteem would be shattered by the 'severity' of the divine judgment, that a new self would arise from the crucifixion of the old self.

It is not necessary to recount how these heresies not only changed the message of redemption in Christ but also constructed a very imposing institution and a very vexatious and pretentious priesthood, pretending to have dominion over all the nations in the name of Christ. Justice and freedom could not be established on earth, even as the Gospel could not be truly preached, until these pretensions were challenged.

But the fact that it has not been possible to purge the Gospel of these Roman heresies without exposing it to the corruption of new heresies, and of dragging the Church behind the chariot wheels of every nation, is as instructive to the Christian as the first chapter of this contest between the righteousness of God and the righteousness of men. The Roman Church has a right to interpret our condition, divided by the intrusion of every historically relative insight and condition into the Christian message, as analogous to the Biblical parable of the "house swept and garnished," of the man exorcized of one devil of heresy, who was visited by "seven devils more evil than the first." It is not only that every national and parochial viewpoint coloured the Christian message among us, but that our necessary commerce with the culture of the world produced, particularly in the nineteenth century, every form of quasi-heresy in which Kantian or Hegelian, Freudian or Marxist forms of thought usurped the wisdom of Christ and the foolishness of the Cross with some form of worldly wisdom.

The most thrilling part of the ecumenical enterprise has been not so much the increasing unity, which we have experienced, but the increasing purity of the Gospel message by the elimination not only of nationalistic and other parochial heresies, but of all those forms of worldly wisdom, which coloured and obscured the plain truth of the Gospel, with its exaltation of the righteousness of God against all human righteousness. The ecumenical movement does not try to establish one unified Church with the power to convict this or that church of heresy. Rather it establishes a place of encounter in which we can instruct each other, by bringing our cherished treasures of grace and, by allowing the criticism of our fellow Christians to aid us in separating the "precious from the

vile," that we may all draw closer together by all coming closer to the truth in Christ. Thus it is God's judgment and grace and not any virtue of our own which works mightily among us to heal the broken body of Christ and make us one.

We face two temptations as we try to profit from the experience of extricating the Christian Gospel from its various heresies, so that we might have unity in the acceptance of the substance of the Gospel. The one temptation is to renounce all commerce with the wisdom of the world, with the various disciplines of culture, all of which contain the danger of deflecting us from the truth of the Gospel. If we succumb to this temptation we shall be like the man who hid his treasure in the ground. We shall not learn to appreciate the truth of these disciplines, which are valid on their own level; and we shall not be able to validate the truth of the Gospel on the level where its truth is apparent and the truth of the wisdom of the world turns into error. That is the level of the self's freedom and responsibility, the self's sin and need of redemption; of God's freedom as Creator and Redeemer; of the self's encounter with God and of its redemption through divine grace and the self's response of repentance and trust.

Nor shall we be able to exploit common experience in our generation to extricate ourselves from the heresies in which we have become involved. Let us take as an example the experience of that section of the ecumenical movement which has studied the problem of the "Church and a Responsible Society." It has made as great a progress in reaching a Christian consensus as any part of the ecumenical movement. It has, in effect, overcome the chasm between a Christian conservatism on the one hand, based upon an undue pessimism, and on the other hand a Christian perfectionism, which approached perilously close to the Utopian illusions of a secular culture. This creative consequence has brought us all closer to a viable Christian social and political ethic, free of illusions about human nature but also with a strong sense of responsibility for establishing a maximum of freedom and justice within the limits set by human sinfulness. This whole development has brought us closer to the Biblical analysis of the human situation, which we should never have forgotten. But it was achieved partly by analysing and profiting from the errors in which partial Christian political theories and secular schemes of salvation were involved. The whole of middle-class culture rested upon the erroneous conviction that history was like nature; and that natural harmonies would prevail in human society if only 'left alone.' The rebellion against the injustices of an industrial society was also based upon the erroneous conviction that society was like nature and could easily be 'managed' and 'planned' for the ends of social justice. Both errors could have been refuted out of hand by a

Christian interpretation of history and of man's ambiguous status of creator and creature in it. But meanwhile both errors left a deposit of truth in our history. The one left a deposit of a free and flexible economy. The other error, robbed of its virulence, became the basis of all programmes of justice in a free society. Thus we have arrived at a viable Christian political ethic, both by reclaiming the Christian insights into the character of the person and his history, of his dignity and of his misery, which is to say, of his creative freedom and of the corruption of that freedom in his selfishness; but also by profiting from the tension between the Christian faith and a secular culture.

We have also learned the modesty of not pretending that the Christian faith can offer a perplexed and fearful generation a simple way out of the predicament of a prospective or possible, though not probable, atomic conflict, except the counsel that powerful nations should be patient and wise in the use of their power, should refrain from vain threats of the use of these destructive weapons and should not rely on a military power too exclusively, but know that their final security must depend upon their unity, their moral and political health, and the increase of justice in their alliance.

The other temptation for us is to make too much of, or to make too uncritical application of, the rediscovered Biblical fact that all men are sinners; and that every historic struggle is therefore a struggle between sinful men. The temptation is to imagine that the cry of "a plague o' both your houses" is a Christian solution of every problem; that neutralism is an answer to every political perplexity. This error consists in an effort to rise above the responsibilities which we have, as men, for the order, the justice and the preservation of our civilizations and painfully-nourished systems of justice, seeking to play the part of God, in whose sight no one indeed is justified. But we are men and not God; and we must distinguish between the moral level of our decisions, where we must carefully weigh whether the ostensible foe may not be a friend with whom we must come to terms and whether the ostensible friend and ally may not be a foe who must be resisted resolutely, if our prized liberties are to be preserved, and the religious level, on which we have some knowledge of the fact that both we and the most dangerous foe are equally sinners in God's sight and are equally in need of His forgiveness.

National heroes are, on the whole, not as interesting to other nations as to the patriots. I will therefore apologize for mentioning the example of the greatest hero of America, who solved this problem more satisfactorily than any statesman or any theologian of my knowledge. Lincoln was opposed to slavery. "It may seem strange that men should ask the assistance of a just God in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's brows," he declared. But

this moral judgment did not prevent him in the heat of a terrible conflict from rising to the religious level from which he could survey the pathetic spectacle of each side claiming God as their ally against the other. "Both sides read the same Bible," he declared, "and pray to the same God. The prayers of both cannot be answered. The prayers of neither will be answered just as they intended."

This sense of an over-arching providence and grace can rob our conflicts of their virulence because it purges us of our arrogance. Thus we decide and discriminate and even fight for our causes in history. We cannot escape these responsibilities. But every effort to end history, to bring it to a conclusion by a victory over our foe or by the triumph of our scheme of wisdom, only brings the final evil into history by the claim of a final righteousness. Therefore we are saved, not by what we can do, but by the hope that the Lord of history will bring this mysterious drama to a conclusion, that the suffering Christ will in the end be the triumphant Lord. To this hope we have dedicated this conference. It is, like all hopes, strictly derivative from our faith. As a hope it may seem highly speculative. But the faith upon which it is based is not speculative. That faith is grounded in the experiences of redemptive grace which shine as a light into our darkness.

ASIA AND AFRICA ASK SEARCHING QUESTIONS[1]

By Charles Malik

I

I propose to consider the problems of Asia and Africa especially in relation to the Christian Church. I speak as a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, and tend to see things in that perspective. It seems it is not yet entirely forbidden, nor is it altogether indecent, to view the world as a Christian, namely, as standing together with the world inexorably under the sign of the Cross of Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Virgin Mary, who was crucified by us men under Pontius Pilate just outside Jerusalem, who certainly rose from the dead on the third day and ascended into heaven where He sits on the right hand of the Father, and who most certainly shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.

We are called upon in this assembly to put aside all human cleverness and fear, in fact all natural or social distinctions, and, in the fellowship of the Spirit, to reaffirm, just like guileless children, the wonderful faith of our fathers. We do not here speak as doctors, or farmers, or businessmen, or professors, or theologians, or diplomats, or officials of this or that organization, nor do we speak as members of this or that profession, or nation, or class, or race, or sect, or movement, or party, or philosophical school of thought, much as every one of these distinctions has upon each one of us its own proper claims and enjoys in its own right a real and valid domain of truth. We speak rather on a much deeper plane than all this; in fact on the deepest plane we know, namely, on the plane of our knowledge of Jesus Christ. On this plane we acknowledge we are not only not self-sufficient, not only limited creatures, not only creatures of the living and true God on whom we depend every minute, but fallen and sinful creatures, not just rebellious against this or that good and right thing, but rebellious by nature, not just mortal with a scientifically-calculated probability of so many more years still to live, but spiritually dying every minute and physically liable to die any minute, perhaps even this very one. On this plane of sin and death, which encompass us all, and indeed the whole of mankind, we also acknowledge with tears of rapture the victory

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and power, the glory and forgiveness of Jesus Christ, Who renews us by His grace every day. It is then on the plane of forgiven sinners, with equal emphasis on the sin which is wholly ours and on the forgiveness which is wholly Christ's, that we dare speak. On this plane, than which nothing is more ultimate, we can speak in freedom and without reservation, for how can there be any reservation when one is face to face with the Cross, where "the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began," is completely revealed, even to the innermost secrets of our own petty hearts?

It is permitted to each one of us, whatever might be his vocation in life, to ascend to the hill of the Cross and to view the world from there. And if there is anything more refreshing, more exhilarating, more releasing, more humbling, more new and creative than what we see in the blazing light of the Cross, I confess I do not know it. Nay, there can be no such thing.

II

Asia and Africa are rising. They desire the full enjoyment of their natural rights. The Asian and African will is taken into account in world councils today more than ever before. You are dealing not only with the vast majority of the human race and with incalculable natural resources: you are dealing with ancient cultures proud of their achievements, jealous for their spiritual values, and becoming increasingly conscious not only of their latent inner strength but of how much the West has owed them. Where would the West be without Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, the Near East in general, Persia, India? Where would the Western Church be without the tears and sufferings of the saints in North Africa, in Alexandria, in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Ephesus, in that great arc of the southern and eastern Mediterranean which constitutes the meeting-place of Asia and Africa and in those days also of Europe? The rise of the East is in part the affirmation of the original base of the West.

The Church can and should rejoice in this phenomenon. How much the East owes its rise to the direct and indirect activity of the Church, both to the faithful witness of whatever remained of the Church in the East and to the dynamic witness of the Western Church and its manifold missionary impact, is a tale still to be told in all its pathos and depth. Christ has been at work all along, in ways past our comprehension, to bring about the rise of the East. It is impossible for Christians not to pray for and bless every genuine attempt at dignity and independence, every craving for freedom and equality, every desire on the part of the peoples of Asia and Africa to exploit their resources for their own benefit and to realize their potentialities to the full. These are as much the children

of God, created in His own image, as anybody else, and Christ died as much for them as for you and me.

The challenge of Asia and Africa, so far as their present fundamental revolution is concerned, is for the Christian conscience, in all sympathy and love, to understand and be concerned about their political, economic, social and spiritual needs. Wherever people can rule themselves, even if imperfectly—and who amongst us can cast a stone at imperfect government abroad?—they have every right to do so. Wherever there is unjust foreign exploitation of natural and human resources, it should cease, and people should be trained in the theory and technique of mastering and turning to good use the riches of the earth. The great stirrings for social justice, for the elimination of discrimination and misery, for the liberation of the eternally depressed and dispossessed, for conferring some dignity upon millions of human beings who are human only by name, all this certainly reflects the will of Christ. Whoever 'misses the bus' with respect to fundamental social change is certainly going to be left by the wayside, and therefore nothing is more necessary for Christians than to make sure they understand the social forces at work, and to try to help them in their truly formidable tasks, with all the moral and intellectual resources at their command, resources which we ultimately derive from the compassion of Christ and the righteousness of God.

In the relation of Asia and Africa to the outside world, problems of political freedom, of economic development, of social and racial justice always arise. There is no one neat 'solution' applicable to all of them, and whoever believes in such a thing is an irresponsible or misguided idealist. Every such problem requires profound political, social and scientific analysis on the part of the best minds directly involved before light can be shed upon it, and in some cases the profoundest and most responsible analysis fails to show a way out. The interests appear to be too conflicting, to be irreconcilable, to admit of any happy, or sometimes even unhappy, issue. The question then must remain in "suspense," a judgment upon the folly and sin of men.

The duty of the Christian in all this is clear. He is to identify himself with the cause of truth and justice everywhere, as best he sees and understands these things, leaving the issue to God, and if he lags behind for whatever reason, he will be an unprofitable servant. Above all, he should never approach problems with preconceived ideas, but should have the deepest respect for facts, for objective situations, and often the facts are anything but obvious. The primary Christian virtue in international relations is hard-headed idealism. If the Christian of the West cannot always determine policy, he certainly can and should help to promote everywhere a more adequate knowledge of the facts. In tangled

situations where unregenerate human passions rule, often it is a matter of producing an atmosphere of confidence; and if the Spirit of Christ cannot induce such an atmosphere, the Spirit, I mean, of One who by obedience unto death had no axe whatsoever to grind, then nothing else will.

Asia and Africa will develop their own social and political forms. These will not be the same as those known in the West. The place and mode of existence of the individual, of the family, of the corporate organization, of government and law, and of the production and possession of wealth, all these will vary considerably from Western norms. Asia and Africa demand that they enjoy the necessary freedom to develop their own institutions and values, namely, to be themselves. This is certainly right, for "in my Father's house are many mansions," says the Lord, and all cultures will have to bring in their own diverse gifts when He comes again. The important thing is not uniformity of culture but the growth of an international and intercultural order wherein every people and every culture will freely develop its own genius as much as possible and as best it can, subject obviously only to four conditions:

(a) that no culture or nation encroach upon another;

(b) that therefore they all voluntarily enter into some universal juridical order;

(c) that there be free interchange of ideas and goods among them; and

(d) that the enjoyment of a certain indispensable minimum of fundamental human rights be guaranteed within each of them.

The point of free interchange of ideas and goods is that this is the only way of avoiding putrefaction, stagnation, error, false self-sufficiency, for cultures to have a chance to correct themselves and grow, and truth has a chance to assert itself only in an atmosphere of exposure to freedom and light. And the point of human rights is the great question whether there is not a fundamental, natural core of rights and freedoms defining our very dignity as human beings, a core which cannot be derogated from no matter how compelling the circumstances or diverse the cultures. If such a core of rights exists—and this is a question for fundamental research—then a Christian cannot, under the false pretext of tolerance and respect for freedom, be indifferent to the miserable human lot of men in many an African or Asian culture.

And foremost among the freedoms to be ensured in all cultures is freedom of thought and conscience, that no arbitrary, external, social or political impediment be placed before man in his sincere quest after the truth. The freedom needed is not the questionable freedom of being, but the genuine freedom of becoming. It is a mockery of man, of truth and of God if after much suffering a man

sees in freedom more light and still he cannot open the window to et it in.

III

For all their intricacy, the political, social and economic problems of Asia and Africa are nothing compared to the intellectual and spiritual problems. For we can already see with some assurance that if people do not yet completely rule themselves, they will sooner or later; if people are not yet fully able to exploit their own resources, they are on the way to doing so; and if social discrimination and injustice still prevail, the one pronounced temper of the age is precisely to attack them. In these fields we can see ahead, albeit more or less dimly.

But what is going to happen to the mind and soul of Asia and Africa?—that is the question. Nor is it true that once people have achieved their political independence, once they have attained economic plenty, and once they have brought about social justice, the spirit then will take care of itself. This is the greatest fallacy of the present age, that the mind, the spirit, the soul of man, the fundamental bent of his will, is derivative from, subordinate to, a function of, his economic and social existence. So long as man can say with Galileo "and still it moves," so long as he of all creation can commit suicide—and anyone of us can do so— there is here provided an absolute refutation of the doctrine that the intellectual and spiritual is wholly derivative from the economic and social. If, in its theory of man, Communism commits this radical fallacy (and yet even in this Communism is dialectically hypocritical because nobody seems to pay more attention to ideas and fundamental attitudes than communists), then nothing is more ridiculous than the sight of those who say they wish to 'fight Communism' and then turn around to concentrate on the economic and social alone, for by thus denying the original efficacy and independence of mind and soul they reveal that, so far as the theory of man is concerned, they are at bottom communistic themselves, and *that* without even the advantage of dialectical hypocrisy!

The real challenge of Asia and Africa is of an intellectual and spiritual order. Concerning the question of multiplicity of cultures there arises the baffling problem of the truth of culture, even beyond the minimum common requirements necessary to ensure the dignity of man. Is there such a thing as a scale of cultures? If there is, what is the principle of this scale and how may it be justified? Is it enough for a thing to have occurred to be true? Even on the plane of sheer happening, sheer existence, is there such a thing as a false event? Is falsehood—historically, culturally, spiritually—something positive, real? What is falsehood? Who is to judge these things?

These are neither simple nor unimportant questions. They are

of the essence of every intercultural situation. The best minds will have to wrestle with them, alike in the East and in the West. Let us, however, beware lest we approach them without first being utterly shattered ourselves at the foot of the Cross. It is only there that there is some chance that we become ashamed of our cultural pride. It is only there that we learn unmistakably what to say and what not to say. "Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend." Pride not only darkens and distorts one's judgment; it produces in others a revulsion against the truth. If no culture can learn under the spirit of pride, it does not follow that truth is overpowering under the spirit of meekness. Man in his pride may rebel before meekness as much as before pride. What is needed, then, is God's absolute patience and faithfulness, and a little-childlike trust on our part that only if we love enough and care enough, and think enough, and suffer enough, shall we know a little more, and God will take care of the rest.

IV

Without science and technology Asia and Africa cannot develop themselves. But neither the one continent nor the other can be said today to be the home of science and technology. These disciplines flourish in Europe and in the two offshoots of Europe—America and the Soviet Union. It follows that for their own development Asia and Africa must ultimately depend upon one or more of these three homes of science. It will be decades, and in some cases centuries, before Asia and Africa can liberate themselves from this scientific dependence.

Nor is it certain that such a liberation would be a good thing even if it were possible. Why should we set continent against continent, race against race, culture against culture, in these matters? Why should it not be a good thing to have scientific interdependence in the world? Why should I be unhappy if the theoretical secrets of the natural resources of my nation could be known and mastered only by foreigners?

These matters are ultimately grounded in the fallen nature of man. This is where religion, and especially the Cross and salvation of Jesus Christ, comes in. Nations and cultures seek complete self-sufficiency even in scientific matters because of the ultimate facts of power, pride, and fear. For science means power, and there is no guarantee that those who possess it will not exploit and enslave those who do not; although the latter, if they possessed it themselves, would most certainly not prove more virtuous. Only, then, as people feel they belong to a larger whole which they trust and which they can call their own, only as relations of confidence and justice are established between peoples, only as adequate curbs,

both legal and moral, are developed against the corruptions of pride and power, will Asia and Africa accept their scientific dependence upon Europe and its offshoots as a final fact.

But all these are spiritual conditions belonging ultimately to the province of God; and Christians, magnifying the Lord with Mary because

He hath showed strength with his arm;
He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
He hath put down the mighty from their seats,
And exalted them of low degree.
He hath filled the hungry with good things;
And the rich He hath sent empty away.

—Christians, I say, magnifying the Lord with Mary and obeying His commandment to love Him with all their hearts and to love their neighbours as themselves, will, if any people can, bring about precisely those conditions of trust and objective justice which will enable the peoples of Asia and Africa to put up with scientific and technological inequality without fear.

But since the children of men, it seems, are not going to be remade tomorrow, despite the presence of the Church in their midst, neither is the West going to reveal to the East its scientific secrets without a price, nor is the East going to acquiesce in a position of permanent scientific inferiority *vis-à-vis* the West. And this situation is simply big with tensions and problems for the future.

V

The importance of liberal education, of the cultivation of intellectual virtue for its own sake, for Asia and Africa is not sufficiently appreciated by Christians. The immediate challenges of politics, of economics, of social relations, of the cultural patterns, of the scientific needs, have arrested the attention more. But there are tremendous intellectual values, both in the local traditions of Asia and Africa and in the authentic traditions of the West, which can and should be revived and cultivated, and which can have a great bearing upon the future. If we really love our neighbours and brethren in Asia and Africa as ourselves, and if the joy of the intellectual vision of the truth is among the greatest of God's gifts to men, we must help them and also be helped by them to attain that joy.

The revival of Avicenna and Averroes alone in the Middle East will produce an intellectual revolution in one generation. The responsible publication of the world's greatest classics in the major local vernaculars will produce an intellectual revolution in less than two generations. A concentrated and sustained attack upon the problems of language so as to close the gap between the language

of higher thought and the language of daily life will produce in time a considerable economy in the wasteful spiritual agony which creative thinkers in the East usually undergo. Thousands of Asian and African students come every year to Western centres of learning where they are practically never required to go through and participate in the great banquet of being which is liberal education. They go back proficient in this or that technique, but with hardly any knowledge of the deepest things the Western world really has to offer, and with even less critical appreciation of the deepest values of their own culture. Then consider the lonesomeness of creative thinkers in the East. They receive very little if any encouragement, very little trust, practically no love and understanding at all. They hardly know each other. They thus live without stimulation, without fellowship, without communion. No wonder they rebel to the high heavens in their lonesomeness.

The mind of Asia and Africa demands original and independent attention. The aim should not be to propagandize this mind or to win it to a particular cause, whether political or religious. If the intention is to indoctrinate it with a view to using it, even if for the best of causes, it will rebel. In any event, such intention is not the way of the Christian. The aim should be to cultivate the highest intellectual virtue, in freedom and in equality. Only thus do we treat others in all humility as ends in themselves and therefore as our peers. History, literature, philosophy, theoretical excellence, the refinement of sensibility, creative art, the issues of life and death, the art of debate and discussion, the appreciation of quality and excellence and being, the whole range of the humanities wherein the mind can enjoy, in freedom, the wonderful ecstasy of vision, wherein man becomes himself and, therefore, tragically understands his essential limitations—is there any doubt that the way of peace and truth is to cultivate these things in and for Asia and Africa? This natural order of the mind can cut across all cultural and religious differences, for surely if man is created in the image and likeness of God, and if all nations have come forth out of one blood, then there must exist a fundamental unity of human nature, including the mind of man, no matter how concealed and potential this unity might be, and despite man's sin and rebellion. The possibilities of liberal education and of humane culture strike me as not having been touched, so far as Asia and Africa are concerned.

VI

Western secular leadership has failed the world intellectually and spiritually. It is too encumbered with 'problems' and with the consideration of means. If it be said that it is not its office to lead in these realms, then I answer: let those whose office this is come

forward and speak. Let them articulate the long-awaited message and carry it in mighty works beyond the confines of their study. For it is a fact that for the most part only spiritless secularism reaches the world.

In their demand for a message, a living message dealing with the final things, Asia and Africa pose their greatest challenge. This is the test at once of our faith, of our hope and of our charity. For if we really believe, if we really hope, and if we really love, then God's will will be done on earth. The shrivelling up of the genuine universal is the greatest agony of this age.

Partnership and fellowship on as deep a plane as possible, and where possible, on the deepest plane: these are the demands of Asia and Africa.

Communism can never be opposed in Asia and Africa by a mere negation. The cultural and racial continuities between the Communist world and Asia and Africa, and the cultural and racial discontinuities between Asia and Africa and the Christian world, these two things are too great and too mutually reinforcing, for Communism to be swept back only by negation. At the present rate of spiritual impotence, with the protective covering of the hydrogen bomb, it is only a matter of time before the whole of Asia and Africa, and maybe even Europe, will be engulfed by Communism.

What is desperately needed, besides the highest political wisdom, is a ringing positive message, one of reality, of truth and of hope. Communism exposes the inadequacy, if not indeed the bankruptcy, of the Western-imperialistic and the smug-Christian approach of the past. Something infinitely more humble, more profound, more positively outreaching, something touching the hearts of men, touching their need for fellowship and understanding and love, for being included and being trusted, something providing them with real hope, hope for themselves and their children, hope in this life as well as in the next, something of this order is needed. This Something is Jesus Christ, the Risen Lord.

The missionary movement must be intensified. The Eastern Churches must be loved and helped. For who knows what tasks Christ will still ask, and may even now be asking, of the Orthodox Church? The spiritually rich must come down and carry the Cross. And there should be faith in the sufficiency of the simple story of the Gospel, without the embellishments of dialectics and philosophy.

The two patron saints of Africa and Asia are clearly Augustine and Chrysostom. For it was the Bishop of Hippo who salvaged for the West all that he could salvage when Rome was going to pieces, and it was the Bishop of Antioch and Patriarch of Constantinople who founded the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. In invoking these two patrons in closing I will ask you to put aside everything you are reading, including the literature of this Assembly, and read the

City of God if you really want to understand what is happening in the world today, and I will read for you a short passage from a sermon by Chrysostom in Antioch towards the close of the fourth century.

> But if in this life also (the Gospel) hath advantages, as indeed it hath, this also is more than all a matter of great wonder, that (the Apostles) had power to persuade men who had done innumerable evil deeds, yea, such as no one else had done, that they should wash themselves clean of all, and they should give account of none of their offences. So that on this very account it were most of all meet to wonder, that they persuaded Barbarians to embrace such a faith as this, and to have good hopes concerning things to come; and having thrown off the former burden of their sins, to apply themselves with the greatest zeal for the time to come to those toils which virtue requires, and not to gape after any object of sense, but rising to a height above all bodily things, to receive gifts purely spiritual; yea, that the Persian, the Sarmatian, the Moor, and the Indian should be acquainted with the purification of the soul, and the power of God, and His unspeakable mercy to men, and the severe discipline of faith, and the visitation of the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection of bodies, and the doctrines of life eternal. For in all these things, and in whatever is more than these, the fishermen, initiating by Baptism divers races of Barbarians, persuaded them to live on high principles.
>
> Of all these things then, having observed them accurately, let us speak unto the Gentiles, and again, let us shew them the evidence of our lives: that by both means we ourselves may be saved, and they drawn over by our means unto the glory of God. For unto Him be the glory forever. Amen.[2]

[2] *The Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom on the First Epistle of Saint Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, Oxford, 1854, p. 99.

CHRISTIAN EFFORT IN TROPICAL AFRICA[1]

By Rena Karefa-Smart, M.A., B.D.

God has not left himself without a witness in Tropical Africa. But I suggest that we who have been called to Christian obedience have now to understand more truly than we have in the past what God is willing His people in Africa to become, and that His Church is set in a world of mounting tension precisely for that purpose.

I wish to offer two of my convictions as contributions to the ecumenical discussion of Tension and Unity; first, that the desperately strained condition of African society, resulting from the tensions in it at the deepest levels of social relationships, intellectual development, and spiritual life presents to the Church in its mission to Africa a challenge to demonstrate clearly and convincingly that in the new life with Christ there is a way of power and hope for all persons and groups, and that this way triumphs here and now over the divisions, want, fears, and false hopes that beset men; and secondly, that unless the churches become the Church in structure, worship and work, reflecting thus the unquestionable meaning for Christians in the Church and in the world of our fellowship in Christ (and, happily for our relevance to Africa's needs, meeting its people at the only point where real *rapport* is possible, namely life in community) Christian effort faces again the possibility of recession and even suppression by a society whose deepest needs remain unmet.

I.

Every person in tropical Africa, whether in East, Central or West Africa, in Portuguese, British, Belgian, French or independent territory, suffers from the tensions that are contemporary realities. No matter what one's race or tribe, there are uneasy relationships with people of different racial or ethnic groups. No matter what one's station, one feels the effects of the struggle to develop sufficiently the natural and material resources in efforts to prevent widespread starvation, to control and eventually wipe out such de-populating diseases as malaria, leprosy and tuberculosis, and to establish reliable lines of communication and transportation as guarantees against isolation and immobilization. Whether woman or man, every person moves through a web of entangled customs and patterns of behaviour, unclear as to the direction in which

1 A paper read to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, August, 1954.

society is moving, and unsure of how to get there. For non-coloured peoples there is the strain of accommodating to a social situation in which you are not considered a permanent 'fixture,' or of 'digging in one's heels' for a contest for economic and political power necessary if one is to achieve permanence in tropical Africa. For Africans there is the tension inevitable when the upsurge of hope for a new day of political freedom and economic self-determination, fired by the vision of a destiny and future bright with promise, is checked by the realities of contemporary power politics, and the limitations of undeveloped human and physical, to say nothing of spiritual, resources.

Everywhere fear, uncertainty, arrogance and hate are set free in a world of antagonism, want and friction, and one hears coming from the bush, the villages, the towns and the cities a growing cry of need for assurance, direction, love and hope. Christians have claimed since the early days of martyred missionaries and tortured converts that the answer to this need is Jesus Christ, our crucified and risen Lord, the only hope for the world. In contemporary society we must demonstrate the truth of that claim.

I would like to sketch in broad outline three kinds of tension that strain the fabric of society in tropical Africa.

First are the struggles for independence and self-determination in political and economic life out of which have been born exclusive attitudes and the cultivation within groups of a will to power. Nationalistic and racial self-consciousness has driven the many groups (tribesmen, settlers, Asians, Europeans, and Africans) into uneasy juxtaposition, and tension grows inevitably as territories formerly quiescent become agitated, with explosions in any one upsetting equilibrium in all. Relationships between these groups, at the socio-economic and political levels, have already in some cases broken down completely. They threaten to do so in others. The horrors of Kenya form the theme for the battle-cry of certain elements in West Africa.

The tension between man and nature is growing, with leaders of society exercised by the necessity to find and implement ways of producing enough quickly enough. The pressure of an increasing population upon an increasingly unproductive soil threatens the very survival of human life. Industrialization, hailed by many as the basis for certain victory in the struggle with nature, may be in truth appropriate only if nature is approached as something to be struggled with! Christian leaders and others seem to agree that mechanized farming and heavy industry are legitimate goals for African society. I ask your attention for those leaders who point out that in a region traditionally agricultural and communal the effects of an industrial revolution may be not only undesirable but

disastrous. Along whichever lines future development takes place, whether industrial or agricultural or both, unless co-operative techniques, effective adult education, and radical re-alignments of wealth come into force, Africans are confronted with future widespread food shortages, and, especially in the towns, with drastically reduced standards of living and the diminution of public services if Western powers are at any time forced out of contact with them. Christians are therefore face to face with specific demands of the world which, in the light of our claims for the lordship of Christ, become the signposts for advance.

The very process of education gives rise to problems which, unmet, produce tensions. The fact that a majority of the leaders of the new Africa had at least their early education in mission schools indicated the lasting contribution of the Church in this sphere. But first principles and ends have still to be enunciated and widely agreed upon, with the present picture of ineffective and inadequate education at every level and the resulting tensions in the lives of disoriented people giving undeniable evidence of the need. Africans, through their education, have been turned toward Western society, but Africa Emergent is not conforming to patterns prevailing elsewhere, and the need is clear for an education preparing people for citizenship in tropical African society as it is developing and as it is envisaged. This very basic need is complicated by problems arising from reduced budgets and short staffs, and the need to articulate policies basic to the relations between Church and State as they bear on state-financed education.

African women trained in mission schools know a frustration inevitable when the more liberal elements of Western social thought break upon the wheel of the extremely conservative social practice of tropical Africa. Conditioned by school life to assuming leadership roles, enjoying equal status with all their peers, and developing their interests and aptitudes, many are sorely pressed when they find the Churches and (perhaps now to a lesser extent) society agreeing that women are by nature followers, in comparison with men inferior, and by inclination submissive. They find the Churches reinforcing in effect an ecclesiastical *apartheid,* even as society, with the valuable lessons learned in tribal community, evidences an inclination to recognize that women and men must co-operate as full participants in all affairs of the common life. Many women profess a longing for the life of freedom in community which they have seen enjoyed by a few leaders, and are participating in associations and fellowships seeking a way through their problems. However, Christian efforts to understand their real situation and to find ways toward their fuller participation in Church life are still to bear sufficient fruit.

II.

The Churches are contributing to the tensions of Tropical African society by reproducing certain of the conditions described earlier in this paper and by continuing to be irrelevant to many of the situations more effectively ministered to by other religions. Most serious of all is the degree to which we Christians have professed to have answers to urgent needs without letting God use us in a demonstration of what those answers are. The world has not missed the disparity between our profession and our practice. Nor will it easily forgive us. Our position as Churches in the world is fraught with antagonism of an unnecessary kind, and we are rejected for the wrong reasons. Let us remember that in such cases the world is not even given the choice Elijah gave the people. We do not say "If the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him". For the God whom we serve, is the god of self, racial superiority, tribal antipathy, or cultural arrogance. And we, the Churches, thus crucify our Lord anew—in that is our real witness.

The expansion of Christianity in Tropical Africa seems threatened by advancing Islam, growing secular materialism and, perhaps more significantly, by certain conditions prevailing in the life of the churches throughout the continent. I would like to emphasize the precariousness of Christian effort by suggesting some of these conditions and by indicating certain of the weaker aspects of the encounter of Christian effort with Islam and secular materialism.

There is, first of all, the almost complete absence of churches indigenous to Africa, felt keenly in the worship-life of many of the Churches, suggesting that many African and non-African Christians are simply devotees of a cult as foreign today as it was two generations ago, unaware that the truth of the Gospel must be expressed in forms meaningful to that society in which it is being witnessed to. (The particulars of Christian worship are thus treated as universals, with a foreign tradition taking the place of God.) Equally disturbing is the related superficial grasp of Christian faith and morals evidenced by the widespread reluctance among Christians to relinquish faith in the gods and spirits of pagan animism. In times of crisis especially, the medicine man is appealed to, and the power of God denied.

The ubiquity and prominence of nominal Christians (and here I think I must stress the non-African Christians) who do not practise in public or private life what they profess, are as damaging as the widespread evidence of a kind of Christian faith that results in self-righteousness and psychological rigidity, with such incidents as the 'excommunication' from the Christian community of clergymen who have sought forgiveness for acknowledged moral lapses.

The recent surveys on theological education have focused

attention not only on the inadequacies of Christian leadership, but also on the presuppositions, not necessarily valid in tropical Africa, of the churches concerning the kind of leadership needed and the means of supporting it. Many are questioning, for instance, the suitability for churches in economically undeveloped lands of a paid and thoroughly professional clerical and lay leadership. This matter of leadership points to one of the weakest spots in Christian effort, and helps us understand why the churches are so much in a defensive position.

The presence within church-life of racial and ethnic groups living, worshipping, and working in separation one from the other and in more or less isolation from the world constitutes, I believe, one of the most acute problems for the Church in its witness in Africa.

Finally, we look at the efforts of the Churches in relation to advancing Islam and growing secular materialism. The pagan world is confronted by two world religions, Islam and Christianity, and it is by no means evident that the traditional strongholds of Christianity will continue as Islam advances, or that pagans will respond more readily to the mission of the churches than to the efforts of Muslim Ahmadiyyas and marabouts. Islam advances through African initiative and direction, adapting and transforming local religious and social customs and causing relatively little strain in the ethical and social life of its converts. It seems to meet fundamental social needs of the people, relating them as it does so to millions of other Mohammedans who, they are told, are one with them in religious practice and belief. (We Christians can take some comfort in the claim made by a pastor in French West Africa that Islam introduces along with its simple faith and as simple ethical demands ". . . a fatalism, exclusiveness, self-sufficiency and pride," and that these are foreign to African life and destructive of dynamic in society, if we are taking the long view of the place of Islam *vis-à-vis* Christianity in Tropical African society.) The advance of Islam over wide areas of tropical Africa has brought it into contact with Christian efforts, presenting the churches with a twofold challenge: to witness so truly to the lordship of Christ that pagans exposed to Islam and Christianity will be convinced if not converted by Christianity, and to witness so truly to Muslims that Christ rather than Mohammed will lead them to God. A quotation from a Sierra Leone daily newspaper dramatizes the situation. "Thousands of Muslims, including Creoles, Temnes, Mendes, Foulahs, and almost all the tribes of Sierra Leone will today celebrate the Feast of Id-Ul-Fitre which marks the end of the Ramadhan. . . . The occasion is being observed as a public holiday." Until a few years ago Christianity was established in this

colony, and Freetown, the capital, is still considered by most Christians to be a Christian community, some of its churches being well over a hundred years old. That Islam is challenging this assumption by its growing numbers, new mosques, participation in the religious observances during official community activities, and the participation in its religious activities by the Christian officials of government, is beyond doubt. But Christian effort has still to result in evangelism that checks or turns back the tide of Muslim advance. In some areas it is being engulfed by it.

Challenging animism, Islam and Christianity is a philosophy and way of life growing in urban centres. Secular materialism appears in centres of de-tribalized life, in part the result of contacts Africans have had with it in their periods overseas and in part a reaction to imperfect religious witness in Africa. Many people are, in their isolation from the tribal life they have led, outside the control of any sanctions in moral life, free from the fear of tribal authority, and (at least at the level of conscious action) of tribal gods and spirits. In addition, they desire the social and economic benefits accompanying westernization. Today they observe in increasing numbers westerners both in the West and in Africa who profess to live without religious belief. The 'cultural refugee' is impressed by the apparent liberty enjoyed by such people. In reaction to his intense resentment of foreign domination, his dislike of the foreign stamp borne by almost all Christian churches, and in his new-found urge to freedom and self-realization the de-tribalized African may be mightily attracted by the way of life demonstrated by the secular materialist. He may remain a 'Mohammedan' or a 'Christian,' or he may continue to conform to the demands of animistic society through observance of traditional socio-religious customs even as he takes the first steps toward becoming a confirmed secular materialist. In all categories of town-life these converts appear. Some are civil servants, others are houseboys, and still others are ex-churchmen.

Although Christianity is at its deepest levels a healing faith it has many leaders in tropical Africa who appear to be more concerned with rooting out than with building up. Characteristic of this approach are the denunciations of polygamy, tribal dancing, burial and death observances, and the failure to help Africans to meet those of their needs formerly taken care of by these and other forbidden customs and folk-ways. Whole areas of life are thus untouched by the Gospel except in a negative way, and African Christians find themselves at a loss to escape the hypocrisy that many feel driven to, or to fulfil the demands presented to them without acceptable alternatives. Directly related to the breakdown of stable society has been Christianity's emphasis upon the individual in isolation, both in its interpretation of the Gospel and in its effort to demon-

strate the power of the Gospel. As a result, it has failed to meet tropical Africa at the only place where real *rapport* is possible—in its communal life and structure. Africans are eminently a people of community, and even when far removed from the tribe continue to be conditioned by values and patterns discovered to have validity for the whole community. We respect the laws of interdependence, and adjust to the demands of group need, having learned through the struggle with nature and one another that in the end extreme individualism threatens the group and therefore survival. We need, it is true, to discover the possibilities for self-realization given to persons as individuals, but we will come to full knowledge of them only as we discover what God has revealed as His purpose for people in community with one another and with Him. The churches are failing to preach and demonstrate the message of the Gospel for a people already in community, albeit a community that waits for the transforming power of God. The foundations of African society are still to be brought under the redemptive power of God through the lordship of Jesus Christ, and individual Christians suffer in the realization that although *we* have heard the Good News we are as yet ineffective in translating its meaning into local *mores* and patterns to the end that communal life with its measure of discernment concerning the values of human solidarity can become the setting in which individuals find salvation and work out, in their personal and *group* relationships, the meaning of that salvation.

Tropical Africa in its strained condition needs desperately to understand the nature and the threat of the tensions besetting it and the surest way of moving from these tensions to an equilibrium in which all elements of nature and society work together for abundance of life. Its deeper need is to acknowledge this equilibrium to be a manifestation of God's creation, possibly because the risen Christ is in truth Lord of all life, and in harmony with God's will for man in society. These needs are deeply significant for Christian effort for they indicate that the time for the idea of Christian unity in community has come in tropical Africa, and that unless Christians act now upon the implications of this idea we shall be found wanting, and perhaps be prevented by a society in need from continuing an irrelevant and unworthy witness.

OUR UNITY IN CHRIST

I believe that the Churches must become *the Church* in tropical Africa if the kingdom of our Lord is to become a compelling reality for *all* men, and that two of the marks of that becoming will be the reorganization of church-life along communal lines, and the achievement of unity between the divided and isolated sections of African Christendom. As the Church is born out of what are now

missions and churches, and as multi-tribal, multi-racial, and supra-denominational congregations achieve community through worship and work, the world will observe the demonstrating of answers to its needs, and the Body of Christ will live more nearly as God purposes it to live.

Such becoming will be difficult in our day and part of the world, as it must be in every age and everywhere. For the powers of evil are ranged against it and we Christians have not the power in and of ourselves to accomplish it. The tensions that threaten society threaten us in our life in society and in our life in the churches, and the weaknesses of contemporary Christianity vitiate our witness to the Lord who has called us. But the vision of a world in which every person is in conscious relationship with the God whose face we see in the face of Jesus Christ is too impelling to allow such reflections to impede Christian advance. It is this vision that must be kept before every Christian in tropical Africa no matter what his tribe, race, denomination, station or class. To do so, however, Christians must realize the corporate existence required by our true nature and in so doing repudiate any development that has made it appear that Christ has not one Body but several bodies. If pagans and Mohammedans and materialists and Christians-in-isolation can observe life lived in community that is transformed by the living Lord, the Body of Christ will be speaking a word that can be understood throughout Africa, and discovering ways yet unknown for abundant life. Congregations within this community will become laboratories for working out the answers to the vexed questions of Church unity. They in company with the young and generally cautious United Christian Councils will then lead the way to the coming Great Church of tropical Africa.

Not for the benefits of a practical nature or for purposes of expediency must we seek our true corporate nature, but because God wills it. Not simply because we shall cease to function at all if we do not succeed in becoming one is unity imperative. Not only because our ministry to Africa will fail if we do not discover how to be the Community of the Saved that we invite others to enter, must we seek together for guidance toward unity of purpose, love and life. But for all these reasons as they are caught up in the greatest reason of all: the Risen Lord is victorious over the powers that make for disunity and evil within the churches and in the world, and God gives to those who obey Him the grace and power to live *now* in the Kingdom of eternal life, willing us to manifest in the world in which we are set the meaning of that life and the nature of Him who has purposed it. To this end and in His name we must witness together, continuing in hope until He comes again.

THE UNITY OF THE FREE SPIRIT[1]

By Daniel Jenkins, M.A., B.D.

I have been asked to speak as a representative of what are commonly called the Free Churches. The term itself is unsatisfactory, both because its Continental European connotation is different from its American and British, and because it is hard to say where the distinctiveness of those bodies of whom the term is used lies. I have no time now to define the Free Churches and shall simply name the churches which I have in mind. They are Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist and, with some qualifications, Presbyterian churches, as they are found chiefly in the English-speaking countries. These churches are, on the whole, less pietist and revivalist in character than the Free Churches of Continental Europe and often have as much affinity with the European Lutheran and Reformed churches as they have with them.

These churches, of course, differ among themselves but they have these two important factors in common. First, they are all churches which acknowledge the validity of the reformation of the Western church which began in the sixteenth century. Some of them stem directly from it and others arose as separate entities much later but all accept the cardinal tenets of Reformation faith, even though only some of them give formal adherence to the confessions of the churches of the Reformation. They acknowledge the sovereignty of God and the supreme authority of His revelation in Jesus Christ as the Bible declares Him. They affirm justification by faith, the priesthood of all believers and the freedom of the Christian man. They are churches of the Word.

Secondly, they are also churches of the Spirit. The direct influence of Anabaptism upon them is not great and, for most of their history, they have been emphatic that the Spirit is always that of the Word, Jesus Christ as the Bible declares Him, but they are at one with each other in their insistence that God is ever calling His people forward to new ventures of faith, which may involve breaking with old ways and institutions and modes of thought. The Church, as they see it, is essentially a pilgrim Church. Its home is not here and it must be careful not to settle down too comfortably in any of its temporary resting-places. Perpetual renewal and reformation are the principles of its life.

It is this conviction of the primacy of Christ in the Spirit which lies behind the claim of most of these churches that the true Church

1 A paper read to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, August, 1954, and printed here by permission.

is a 'gathered Church.' This claim was made as a protest against the territorial conception of the Church of the Reformation period but it involves more than an emphasis on personal conviction as a basis for church membership. It arose out of the belief that the Church was made not by men but by God, and that it was not its own institutional vitality which maintained it in being, but the free action of the Spirit, who calls men one by one and each by name into the fellowship of Christ's Body. The idea of the gathered Church has been linked very closely historically with that of the crown rights of the Redeemer in His Church, and there has been good reason for this. Both have emphasized, at times when it seemed that a State or a hierarchy was threatening them, the right of Christ in the Spirit to call whom He would into the Church and of those whom He called to follow Him wherever He might lead.

That this is the root of the idea of the gathered Church needs to be made clear because the Free Churches are often accused of excessive individualism and subjectivism. There is sometimes justice in these charges, as we shall see, but it is not the idea of the gathered Church which is responsible for them. On the contrary, it calls attention to facts which are coming more and more to be seen as of the greatest importance for the future of the Ecumenical Movement. It is a conception which takes into account, in a way in which Catholic thought rarely does, the significance of the Ascension and of the fact that the Spirit now holds the initiative in calling men to Christ. No person need now be denied access to the healing Body of Christ because of the press of those about Him, but His Spirit ranges freely through the whole universe and whoever calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. It is not for men to seek to domesticate the Spirit in the service of the churches which they form, even though they form them at the Spirit's behest, but to discern the Spirit's working and conform their organization to that.

Once called by the Spirit, the Christian is under compulsion to show it forth in his dealings with all men, but with his fellow-Christians he has a further obligation, that of being gathered with them in church order, to use the old phrase. Some of the Free Churches founded in the eighteenth century and later have not always been clear about what this means, but the older ones were very clear. It is much more than a matter of church organization in the narrow sense. It is a matter of recognizing that 'there is no such thing as a solitary Christian' and that the Christian life is, in its essence, a common life. Adequate arrangements must be made for the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments; Christians must meet together to participate in these and to build each other up in mutual love. They must work together in the Lord's service in the world, and in all things seek so to fulfil His purpose that they move forward as one family to meet their

coming Lord. The Free Churches have insisted that the obligation to do this rests upon all believers and not upon the clergy alone. In this respect they may claim to take the Church, in its most concrete forms, more seriously than any other part of the Christian society.

Experience provides a powerful justification for this way of looking at the Church. It is fitting that the Second Assembly should take place in a part of the world where the vitality and strength of these churches are clearly visible, because their significance has even yet not been fully realized in ecumenical discussion. It is not merely that they are so numerous and so lively; it is also that their spiritual achievements are in danger of being misconceived because they are not looked at in a sufficiently long historical perspective. Only some of these churches arose as movements of reformation within existing ecclesiastical bodies. Most of them, especially the Methodists and those Baptist bodies which have appeared since the eighteenth century, seem to have developed almost by spontaneous spiritual combustion in parts of the world, like the American Frontier and the Britain of the Industrial Revolution, where the influence of older churches was slight. Older churches had then the duty of seeking to express the unity that is in Christ to these new Christian fellowships and sharing with them the accumulated riches of Christian tradition. This, on the whole, they failed to do, although, of course, both sides were partly to blame. The fact that these churches have achieved such a large measure of responsible church order without the direct help of other Christians is all the more impressive. The Spirit has moved them mightily and through their efforts great multitudes have been added to the number of those that are being saved. The same Spirit has led them into growing maturity in understanding the ways of God with His people. They believe that, in the process, they have seen aspects of God's will which other churches do not see so clearly. With such a history it is hard to expect them to submit to theories of the nature of the Church which assure them that they had no right to come into existence in the first place but that, having done so, they must meekly acknowledge their bastard origins. Such an action would be not only a denial of the Commandment to honour one's father and one's mother, but also something very close to the sin against the Holy Ghost. I remember a Methodist spokesman at the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order saying that his Church was committed to the belief that the Methodist movement arose through the grace and mercy of God and that the power of Christ in the Holy Spirit had sustained it, and that they could not deny their whole history. Few churches which participate in the Ecumenical Movement would wish to challenge such beliefs but it is doubtful whether those churches which continue to make exclusive claims for themselves have faced the implications for their own positions of the

rise and continued spiritual vitality of the Free Churches.

This is far from saying that these churches have nothing to learn from the Ecumenical Movement. They need more than most churches the vision of the Great Church of Jesus Christ which it gives, and to see their own often excessively provincial concerns in its light. Their conception of Christian tradition has been thin and narrow, and they have been reluctant to learn with discrimination from the past of other bodies as well as their own. Their own contribution to worship has, perhaps, been under-valued, but they have much to learn, particularly in sacramental worship, from other churches. Like all churches, they have often failed to live up to their own best insights, so that today a Congregationalist can learn from an Anglican how to hold a Church Meeting and a Methodist from a French Roman Catholic how to evangelize. A misleading conception of spiritual freedom has led some to an impressionistic modernism which evades the fundamental challenge of faith, and fear of modern thought has led others to a too rigid conservatism.

Yet, in learning from others, they have much to give. They are free from ecclesiastical idolatry. They do not claim that the voice of the Church is ever unambiguously the voice of Jesus Christ. They are not so free from Bibliolatry, but they have many of the leaders of modern critical Biblical studies in their ranks. Above all, their understanding that the Church is a pilgrim Church, which lives by the active guidance of the Spirit in new situations, is a perpetual challenge to the rest of Christendom.

The empiricism displayed by some of these churches on matters of order, and occasionally even on matters of faith, is partly due to carelessness which deserves rebuke. But it is partly due also to an attempt to take seriously the eschatological nature of the coming Kingdom. Because our final home is not here but to come, it is more important that we seek the Spirit's guidance in leading us forward and overcoming this present age than that we should be over-anxious that our temporary camps should be organized with Levitical detail or that our orders in the heat of the battle should be strictly in accordance with precedent. The Free Churches speak much of their freedom. It is not always clear what they mean by it, or that they give it significant content. But to the extent to which they show a readiness themselves to die that Christ might live, and not merely to invite others to do so, they show what the glorious liberty of the children of God means. The Spirit is the Spirit of the Word, Jesus Christ. It is where the Spirit is, and there alone, that there is liberty. The unity of the Spirit is the one bond of true peace. The Free Churches believe, out of their failures as well as their successes, that it is only by seeking to give the Spirit free course to convict of sin and lead to righteousness in every part of church life that the people of God will realize their unity together.

A NOTE ON INDUCEMENTS

By W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., D.D.

It is a common remark that philosophy, unlike science, has little effect on our lives. It asks questions which are of the greatest importance to us all; but the questions have been asked ever since philosophers began their labours; and we are no nearer to the answers. Why, then, trouble about them? This is especially true of ethics, where the most diverse opinions have been held, for example, on moral obligation and the freedom of the will, but with no apparent result on the conduct of any of the disputants. Is this uncertainty about what concerns us all, every day of our lives, inevitable? Granted that we cannot reach the kind of certainty enjoyed by the mathematician or the physicist, when we are moving in a realm where desires and fears and unsatisfied longings defy the yardstick and the tape measure, is it impossible to draw up some map of life, and set up signposts along the road, which will not at once be challenged by a rival topographer?

It may be so. It may lie in the very nature of things that those who wish to read the riddle of this sorry life of ours should be doomed to share the frustration of Browning's Cleon or Fitzgerald's Omar. But, short of this, something may be said of the philosophers in excuse or extenuation. They have been men of the lecture-room rather than of the street or the laboratory. The very word "academic," which is supposed to put them in their proper place, means that they and their pupils have sought some quiet spot where they could think and argue, far from the madding crowd. It would be unfair to blame them for refusal to employ the methods of experimental investigation; partly because experiments, as means to the advance of knowledge as distinct from the labours of the craftsman and the builder, were, at the birth of philosophy, a secret to all save a few; and partly because for centuries the study of conduct, however it might call for close observation, seemed hardly to open a door for experiment, even when experimental methods had come to be regarded as the sheet-anchor of science. But any study which has to get on without experiment is in danger of turning in upon itself. However well chosen its material, the foundations will tremble.

To go back to the first of these attempts, in fourth century Greece. Plato's examination of the meaning of justice—he could have set before himself nothing more fundamental for his study of conduct—begins with a picture, imaginative yet surprisingly adequate, of the rise of an economic community; but it then passes

with a quick and daring leap to the consideration of the learned and cultivated minority in Athens of which he was a distinguished member, and the means by which it could be brought to fulfil for the service of the State the functions which it so tragically neglected. To the shopkeepers and craftsmen, the mechanics and slaves, by far the larger portion of the inhabitants of the city, he paid no attention whatever. They were no part of his world, so interesting yet so confined.

The same is true of Plato's younger contemporary, Aristotle. Setting out for a more easily accessible goal than Plato's, the objects which men actually aim at in life, he is quickly seen to be moving in the social circle to which he and his hearers belonged. With a little care and the exercise of some historical sense, we can place ourselves in this circle, not without admiration of the subtlety of its portrayal; but the processes of his highly analytical mind lead to conclusions so clear-cut that the many-sided life of the *agora* and the law-court refuse to be confined within it. Aristotle's 'tidy mind' could give us, in his portrait gallery of the virtues, an admirable picture of a group of Athenian gentlemen, in a manner which was to be followed up later by Theophrastus and our own Jacobean writers; the complexities of conduct, as seen in Euripides or Aristophanes, might have been a sealed book to them all.

To recognize their limitations is not to belittle the great thinkers themselves. If we asked them to mix with all sorts and conditions of men, as Socrates is said to have done (though even his society was small and select), we should end by condemning them to silence. As well carp at the early Florentines for filling their canvasses with Madonnas. Intensive study there must be; and if the Greek writers had not thus fenced their field, there would have been no field to fence. The price had to be paid and paid willingly. And the payments have continued. The philosopher who invites us into his class invites us into his private world. We know far more from Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus of their own hopes and ideals and detestations than of the convictions which moulded the conduct of their daily associates; for these, the Stoicism of the emperor or the slave had few attractions as a rule of life.

Nor is it otherwise when we turn to the moralists of a later age. Spinoza could never have presented us with his magnificent conception of the intellectual love of God if he had spent his time in examining the aims and aversions of the burghers whom he passed in the streets of Amsterdam; and if they had turned their attention to him, they might have been forgiven for concluding that to understand his principles took so much time that none was left in which to put them into practice. Kant set forth a conception of duty which for all subsequent thinkers has been of Copernican significance; but he has convinced few people, in Koenigsberg or else-

where, either that they thought or that they might come to think that the smile on duty's face was the fairest thing they knew. Looking back on the last century, we can see that the Oxford philosophers, like Caird, T. H. Green and Bradley, had little influence outside their own University circles.

But what of the Utilitarians, that school of ethical teachers which has done more than any others to give England a place in the philosophical world? Surely, it will be claimed, Hume and Price, Bentham and John Stuart Mill, have not been as lights hidden under a bushel. They clamoured for education, the wider and more popular the better; but their connexion with University class-rooms was slight, and they drove their ideas into the press, into popular committee-rooms, and into the legislature. Their teaching was just as narrow and circumscribed as their rivals'—"there is no evil but pain; there is no object worthy of pursuit but the ever-increasing happiness of our fellow-men." It was indeed even narrower; but it swept over the country and even the Continent, and the liberalism and the radicalism of the last century are embodied in the socialism, the democracy and the communism of today.

This, however, is not the whole story. The movement spread far outside the Universities and the philosophical circles. But that was because it quickly ceased to be academic. Till then it had no wider vogue than the older schools. To say "the end is pleasure, or happiness," had no more persuasive power than to say "the end is duty." In the seventeenth century, in this country, the Calvinists, the dominant religious party, held consciously to the second; the bulk of the population held, unconsciously, to the first, as the rule for their own conduct. It was only the stirring period introduced by the years when "France stamped her proud foot and swore she would be free," followed by the challenge of reform, in industrial conditions, in education, in politics, in the administration of justice, and indeed in every department of life, that happiness "in widest commonalty spread" became a watchword or a war-cry.

But this happiness was more than the cold abstraction of utilitarian text-books. It made the names of Robert Owen and New Lanark household words; it blazed up at Peterloo; and it terrified London when the Chartists appeared. It was twisted and misused by the Manchester school, and it was baptized, so to speak, by the Christian Socialists. "Happiness is the end", with all the confusions that labour within that specious formula, could never have brought about the vast changes which even now we cannot be said either to understand or control. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" could be claimed as the birth-right of humanity; but what fired men was the hope of some concrete redress of grievances, some relief of their estate. Justice, freedom, brotherhood, were more stirring

words than pleasure or satisfaction. The startled rejoinder which Plato put into the mouth of Glaucon, "this admirably organized community of yours is no better than a city of pigs", is echoed in Mill's well-known observation that it is better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a pig satisfied. Sooner or later the carrot and the stick lose their power as inducements to human beings; deeper influences, good and evil, are always at work. The same voices which cried "down with Capet" are soon shouting "up with Bonaparte"; just as within a week we have "hosanna" changing to "crucify".

But to return to the schools and their inadequacy as guides to conduct. We have said enough on their narrowness of outlook, inevitable, as it would seem, in the lecture-room. This narrowness, however, has had a further result which is possibly even more disheartening. The Greek method was, at least in its aim, conversational, in the shady colonnade or by the river bank. But conversation quickly passed into discussion, and discussion into debate, and debate into the dialectic of Yes and No. Allies, at first, in the attempt to agree on some satisfactory statement, the collaborators in the lecture room, they begin insensibly to fall apart. We need not ask how deep lie the seeds of combativeness in human beings. Doubtless, each of the controversialists is chiefly anxious to explain and defend his own assertions; but defence of one proposition soon comes to mean attack on the other; and the attempt to find out the truth, or to discover what the two have in common, ends in a duel.

This was natural enough in Greece, where the spirit and atmosphere of the law-courts forced itself even into the theatre, and every listener imagined himself a juryman, called on to give his vote to one claimant or the other. But it was the same when philosophy came to life again in the Universities of medieval Europe. To philosophize meant to take a side and uphold it to the end. The easiest and as it often appeared the only way to acquire a reputation was to attack a received proposition. Every master in the schools, like another priest of Nemi, had to watch for his assailant. The most venerated of the doctors, the great St. Thomas himself, wrote as if he stood, like Horatius, guarding the bridge. This ordeal by battle was laid down as the regular exercise in the class-rooms and the recognized entrance to a degree for the student; and the system of academic disputation lasted long after the fear of a possible conviction for heresy had ceased to sharpen the youngster's wits and cloud his master's brow with anxiety. The tradition lives on.

In our post-Renaissance world the student of philosophy naturally begins his course by familiarizing himself with the *sic et non* of the past, as if the ghosts of ancient disputes were never to be laid. He comes to swear by the words of one master or another. The process is far from unattractive. To quote the old Greek jest, the

youth rejoices to pull at theories as puppies will tear at an old rag. The questions are always there to be fought over in a kind of "free for all" field; realism versus nominalism, fate versus free will, and so on. It is easier for both master and pupil that a youth's abilities should be tested by his knowledge of the time-honoured discussions than by what may kindly be called his proficiency in 'research'.

And when the student has passed through the years in which a wise Platonist would have forbidden him the luxury of studying philosophy at all, the old habits are not easily laid aside; the lecture-rooms still preserve their rarified atmosphere. Casuistical and fascinating discussions of moral philosophy, as it is called, which have indeed very little to do with the main issues of conduct, cast their shadows across the student's path, and the whole must conclude, if possible, with a satisfying Q.E.D. Arguments have been sifted; convictions have been maintained; but the results, for any progress in our learning or improvement in our living, are like Bacon's Vestal Virgins; they are barren.

If then the study of ethics seems near bankruptcy, the reasons would appear to be two: the narrow field observed from the lecture-room, and the reliance on the method of "either . . . or", with never an "or both", in its discussions. Hence, the unwillingness to look outside the bounds of our own small and familiar world, and the assumption that truth must lie on one side or the other of a firm dividing line. How different the world of the schools from that of the drama. It is when we sit on a retired hill that we can argue with Milton's fallen angels on fate and foreknowledge absolute. When we find our way to the "Swan" or the "Curtain", and watch the motley crowd on the stage, our experience of the contrast is not unlike what we feel when we turn from a classical treatise on ethics to the daily newspaper.

To quote a modern exponent of Shakespeare: "his mind revolved ceaselessly round the paradox that there is some soul of goodness in things evil, an alloy of baseness in the most resplendent virtue." As Shakespeare himself expressed it, "the web of our life is as a mingled yarn, good and ill together; our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipped them not; and our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues." This is not to suggest (though some might not shrink from doing so) that the Elizabethan stage can teach us more of moral evil and of good than all the text-books. Yet if we are really anxious to understand the principles that govern men's actions and choices, if such there be, and still more, to persuade others, as every lover of his kind must wish to do, to live the sort of life which commends itself to us, we must risk the dangers of bowing down before the *idola fori;*

how else can we hope to instruct those who ignorantly worship "an unknown god"?

To persuade others, we say; that is, unless we are to rely on compulsion and authority. Human life is one vast field of inducements, offered, accepted, or rejected. This indeed is no longer a matter of argument, if ever it was; it is taken for granted in the market-place, in industry, in politics, and in our own day, if not earlier, in the law-courts, or some of them. Every man, so runs the maxim, will do what he finds is worth his while. Show him that what you want him to do is worth his while, will pay him—will be, when he understands it, what he would want to do himself—and you are sure of him. We hesitate to agree to this only as long as we forget the immense variety of inducements that are constantly used, or the immense variety in the devices and desires of the men and women to whom they are applied.

The economists of a hundred years ago or more, the architects of the dismal science of the iron law of wages, knew of only two inducements, the hope of more wages, and the fear of less. Money, indeed, as the prime and obvious means in our civilization, of satisfying the universal and fundamental human needs, will always be a master inducement, to the austere saint as to the careless child of the world. But money is only a means, and very often a most disappointing means, to what is felt to be really worth while, the true satisfactions of our nature, whether recognized or not. Everyone is conscious of needs which money cannot buy; though, on the other hand, penury may drive their satisfaction beyond his reach.

What has to be remembered is that human life is emphatically not, as the utilitarian and the "practical man" have represented it, the search for a narrow self-gratification. Every man is a member of some group or groups, from the family (from which no one can wholly escape) or even the "gang", to an order or a union which inspires absolute abnegation of all self-centred wishes. More men than we are commonly aware of find their satisfaction, what they feel to be supremely worth while, in the service of their group, even if it calls for the laying down of life. Communism has taught us this. But what seems at any one moment worth while—what moves a man, in fact—is the result of all his education (in the widest sense of the word) good and bad, and the ideals, noble or vulgar, into which he has grown. This is equally true of the criminal and the just person; and every inducement must take account of the habitual set, so to speak, of the individual to be dealt with, or it will fail.

For instance, the desire for the respect of one's companions or one's society, the knowledge that one counts for something with others and is needed by them, the accomplishment of some task, set by others or by oneself, in athletics or in business or in professional

pursuits, the consciousness of power and expansion, whether given by drugs or by all that sound health makes possible, mastery over pain and danger, the joy of a good conscience, the sheer delight of play, in whatever sense we use the term, aesthetic enjoyment, the comfort of being perfectly well-dressed, the serene calm of friendship, the rapture of love, whether conjugal or parental, the consolations of religion, the sublime exaltation of the martyr at the prospect of death—each of these, to some one or another, will convey the sense of fullness and ripeness of life which lies at the heart of all desire. The exercise of implanted powers, often unhappily frustrated in our modern life, must never be neglected when we attempt to understand or influence our fellow-men. Some of these at least are being increasingly recognized, by economists and moralists alike.

When we reach this point we find that we have left behind the old-fashioned ethics of reward and punishment, and even of duty and interest, as perpetually opposed. But this, it may still be said, leaves us actually worse off than before. If every act of ours is an attempt to gain our own satisfaction, we are all of us at bottom hedonists; and duty is but the shadow of a sound. This, however, is to misunderstand the matter entirely. True, everything that we do aims at the attainment of something we like or value, which we regard as our good, or the avoidance of what we dislike or think of as an evil. But there is nothing immoral or selfish or hedonistic in satisfaction as such. If I obey the call of some stern thing called duty, it is because I choose to do so, because I am so made, or have been so brought up, that it appeals to me, because I could not think of myself as refusing it, "though seven deaths lay between". The saint himself, like his great example, lives for the joy that is set before him; and no one, except a perverted monster like Richard III or Caliban (and even Caliban is a doubtful instance) can live without shaping his life and, in some degree, denying himself to gain the approbation of others. We may leave to the older moralists to decide whether a genuine desire for the approbation of others is selfish or unselfish.

What then is the place of inducements in human conduct? It can hardly be limited. Every attempt at persuading others is an inducement; the offer of a prize, a bribe, an endowment, an open door to high position or influence, or of sweat and blood and tears in the darkest hour of public danger. It is the weapon of the evangelist and of the pimp. How simple the moral life would be if it could be stylized down to the choice of Lancelot Gobbo ("Budge . . . budge not") or of Ovid (*video meliora* . . .) or "how happy could I be with either . . ." or even of the seventh chapter of Romans. But while at some times we are conscious of no alternatives at all, at others we are beset by a score. "Which of all these possible courses", we ask, "will bring what I really desire?" The

danger then is that we may be wiled away into deciding for a bogus satisfaction which has deceived us again and again in the past. If we are to find guidance or assistance in the moral life—and who does not need it?—it must come from some *phronimos*, some man of wise common sense, who can bring to us, or keep before us, the inducements and incentives to the more sober choice; and to the results of some system of education which will have started long before to prepare us to respond to such an appeal. The wise moralist will remember that in the end what satisfies one must satisfy all, and he will revere the maxim that "neither you nor I will ever get what we really want unless you make for my interest and I make for yours." Herein lies the condemnation of all attempts at compulsion—what Bentham called the *ipse dixit* of the moralist.

He will therefore give up the vain device of bidding men to act against their own wishes; he knows that they will act as he desires only when his desires have become theirs. The goal of that path, the virtue that can cherish even our crimes, may not lie beyond discovery. But that is another question; and ethics has seldom been able to regard her work as complete without an appeal to religion. Ethics cannot rid herself (even the Utilitarian will grudgingly or unconsciously admit this) of the conviction that behind the welter of human values, each of them longed for and revered by some, hated or despised by others, there exists some absolute value, some objective good, beyond all our conflicting and fluctuating dreams. The highest religions find this in obedience to the will of God, man's "reasonable service".

But the divine will, revealed and authoritative to some, existing in its own right, is questioned and set aside by others. Even the religious man, reflecting on the various formulations of that will, recognizes the need for some clear and definite interpretation of it. He may feel himself emancipated from the inducements of the terrors of hell and the joys of heaven; but he will not deny that behind that will is the incentive of the abiding satisfaction of eternal life; in fact, he will proclaim that the two, obedience and satisfaction, are inseparable. When God has spoken, he will say, let no man criticize or question. Yet how can prophet or apostle convince his hearers that the word which he feels as a fire within his bones, or as a hammer which breaks the rocks, is in very truth the utterance that comes from an absolute and not-to-be-questioned authority? The truth whereby we live is not impressed on us from outside, but commended to us, felt as grounded in our own experience. The mark of all objectivity, and we may add, of all reality, is that it is both outside and within us, hidden from us when our eyes are turned in upon ourselves, but neither invented nor dreamed by us; and, when set before us, it is seen and known to simplify all the complexities of our life.

This principle certainly attaches itself to ethics. Ethics cannot be cut away from morality; and the moral is the opposite of the merely prudential. Morality implies obligation, even if only the obligation, as recognized by a utilitarian, to act for the advantage of others. But this obligation is not and cannot be simply external. If it were, it would be no more objective than the maxim of the thorough-going hedonist. "Every valid ethical axiom," Professor Tillich has lately written, "is an expression of man's essential relation to himself, to others, and to the universe." Perhaps, in the previous pages, we have been nearer to an objective reality than we were quite aware.

Every man is formed with needs, we are well aware, which he must seek continually to meet, or perish. But he cannot fulfil them, either the higher and spiritual, or the lower and material, save by co-operation with others. He is taught by experience, and by something deeper than experience (if he is capable, or can be rendered capable, of learning) that he must seek the interests of his fellow-men as well as his own; that, in other words, if he would save his own life, instead of losing it, he must love his neighbour as he loves himself; a law which, like the universe, was not made by us, but must be accepted; it is, in fact, the law of our being. The true values are the values that are shared. And to share them is to "express an essential relation to ourselves, to others, and to the universe." We must do so, if we are not to miss the end which unites all our manifold desires; the end for which, if we are to acknowledge any purpose in our lives, we were made. True, the "if" in this last sentence may seem to imply the conditional rather than the categorical and the absolute; it implies at any rate an ultimate appeal to ourselves and our own choice; "turn ye, turn ye; why will ye die?" But without the appeal to such an incentive as this, the categorical falls from the human to the mechanical. The moral, to be worth calling moral, must move, to borrow a phrase familiar in contemporary religious writing, in the relation, not of the "I-it", but of the "I-thou." And not even the religious man will assert that man's disobedience to God's commands is either impossible or unthinkable.

And if the Christian adds that the law of man's life must be the law ordained and upheld by Him in whose image man was formed, by Him who is the being of the universe behind all its appearances, it would seem that he has come near to the objective value, the categorical imperative, of which we are in search.

WHY JESUS CAME

By Roderic Dunkerley, B.A., B.D., Ph.D.

Amongst my hoarded cuttings I came the other day upon the following fragment, the source of which I do not know:

> "Every baby is born to live. Jesus was the one exception. He was born expressly to die. The death He came to die was described in minutest detail hundreds of years before. The supreme significance of His death lies in the fact that He died exactly according to the prophetic scriptures."

I presume I kept this passage when I first read it because I felt it focused so clearly the view of things I felt to be mistaken.

The statement about the prophetic description "in minutest detail" is of course quite incorrect. The facts that neither the name "Jesus" nor the word "cross" occurs in the Old Testament are sufficient to dispose of that exaggeration. And the more or less close parallels between a few details in the Passion story and certain Old Testament passages (like Psalm xxii) are really simply the normal similarities that occur constantly in literature; it would be extraordinary if such correspondences were not discoverable by the diligent literalist. In any such passage the texts that do not correspond greatly exceed those that appear to do so; in Psalm xxii, for example, what about the dogs, the unicorns, and the bulls of Bashan? A deity who used such an arbitrary selection of words as evidence that he had planned an event hundreds of years before it happened would be a vastly different being from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

As to whether any real prediction of the Passion is to be found in the Old Testament, it must first of all be stated emphatically that most of the Messianic passages give no hint or suggestion of such a thing. The seven principal places where a Coming One is promised and depicted are Isaiah ix, 6, 7, xi, 1-9; Jeremiah xxiii, 5-8; xxxiii, 14-16; Ezekiel xxxiv, 23-31; xxxvii, 21-28; Zechariah ix, 9, 10. An unprejudiced study of these passages— and several others can be added to them in support— makes it clear that the Messiah was thought of as coming to inaugurate a wonderful era of prosperity and peace, in the first instance for the Hebrew people but later "from the river even to the ends of the earth." It is strange how theological bias has hindered and still hinders scholars from recognizing and acknowledging this. Traditional interpretations and doctrinal considerations have held such a fierce grip that the plain facts and straightforward meaning of them have been overlooked or denied.

No doubt the important passage regarding the Suffering Servant (Isaiah LII, 13-LIII, 12) has been a factor contributing to this blindness. Indeed it is only here in the Old Testament that any real support has been found for the view that the death of Jesus was foretold. But there are points that compel hesitation before we assent to that idea. The word 'Servant' in this part of Isaiah is not as clearly a title of the coming Messiah as, for example, 'Branch' in some of the passages already considered; sometimes indeed it seems definitely to apply to the nation as a whole (XLIV, 21; XLIX, 3). But in some places an individual certainly seems intended, who is commissioned to rally the people of Israel and to be a light to the Gentiles (XLII, 1-7; XLIX, 6). Generally the tone of these passages is of hope and triumph, but here and there a more sombre note is struck (L, 6), and in the greatest of them, which we are considering, this is developed into the thought that success would be gained through suffering and death. But it is to be observed that it is written in the past not the future tense, as becomes more clear when we turn to the Revised Version (LIII, 2—"he grew up" not "he shall grow up", etc). The primary reference of these words, then, was to someone of the prophet's own time or shortly before who had suffered through the sins of others but by so doing had brought deliverance to them. To regard this passage as a prediction of the death of Jesus hundreds of years later rather than as the honouring of a contemporary hero or martyr seems perverse. The Christian Church has rightly found in it a striking similarity to the vicarious sufferings of Jesus, and His death is, of course, the supreme expression of the principle which the prophet saw operating in his own lifetime. But the use of this passage with reference to the Passion is certainly a question of appropriate allusion rather than of a genuine prediction.

The view that Jesus came deliberately in order to die cannot therefore be established from Old Testament prophecy. Incidentally it should, of course, always be remembered in this connection that 'prophecy' in the Biblical sense and use of the word is not in the first instance prediction but the preaching and declaration of God's will. Sometimes the prophets' divinely bestowed insight into God's will brought with it foresight regarding the results of accepting or refusing it. But this was a secondary matter, and they must not be deemed in the main foretellers of the future.

We turn then to the Gospels. And we will consider first of all Jesus' own statements of why He came. The words "I came" or "I am come" occur three times in the Synoptics (or eight if we include parallels) and 11 times in John. Of the Synoptic passages the first is about not destroying the law and the prophets but fulfilling them (Matt. v, 17); it is important for our study and we will examine it fully presently. The second is about calling sinners

to repentance (Mark II, 17), a straightforward declaration of what He actually did throughout His ministry. The third is about not sending peace but a sword (Matt. X, 34, 35), a statement surely not of deliberate purpose but of unfortunate result. In none of these three passages is there anything that can be sensibly regarded as a forecasting of the cross.

As regards the passages in John, several are simply statements that He came from God, without any indication of purpose (V, 43; VII, 28; etc.). Of the rest three are beneficent statements of goodwill to men: "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly" (X, 10). "I am come a light into the world . . . I came not to judge the world but to save the world" (XII, 46, 47), "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world that I might bear witness unto the truth" (XVIII, 37). He certainly bore witness to the truth by His death as well as by His life, but neither in this text nor in the other two is there any indication that He regarded His death as the purpose of His coming. The only passage that is susceptible of this meaning is—"For this cause came I unto this hour" (XII, 27), but actually the statement is not that He came into the world but "unto this hour"—that is, the hour when He should be "glorified" (verse 23), one aspect of which was to be the winning of the Greek world, as had been foreseen and promised long ago (Isaiah LX, 1-5, etc.). Now at last it was within His grasp—Greeks were coming and wanting to see Him (verse 21), but the shadow of the cross was falling upon Him through the refusal and apostasy of the Jews. It is the counterpart of the Gethsemane story in the Synoptics. His real purpose was being frustrated, but it meant bitterness and agony to Him.

Coming now to the important passage already mentioned—"Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil" (Matt. V, 17)—it seems reasonable to suppose that He felt He was fulfilling the prophets in the same general sense and spirit that He was fulfilling the law. And how was that? Not by meticulous attention to minutest details; that was the way of the scribes and Pharisees with their tithing of tiny vegetables and neglect of the really vital things (Matt. XXIII, 23). He stressed the weightier matters of the law, and in particular the two great commandments (Mark XII, 29-31). Similarly it is surely an error to think of Him (or God!) being concerned about microscopic correspondences between the writings of the prophets and what happened to Him. He fulfilled them by seeing to the heart of their message and carrying it out to its logical conclusion—He knew the glorious thing God had purposed through them and that it was His task to bring it about.

There are two vital passages which shew this process of fulfilment at work. The first is the great proclamation in the synagogue

at Nazareth (Luke IV, 18-21). An old-time prophet had expressed in vigorous terms the blessings in store both for Israel and the Gentiles (Isaiah LXI, 1, 2, and indeed the whole chapter thrills with the same conviction). Jesus knew that the right moment had come to herald this "acceptable year of the Lord", and that He was anointed for this very thing. "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears" he announced (Luke IV, 21). Here is spiritual not literalist fulfilment—the hope of the prophet long ago now at length being on the verge of accomplishment. So, too, with the second passage—the acted parable at the Entry into Jerusalem when He deliberately rode on an ass as Zechariah had pictured the Messiah doing (IX, 9, 10), so saying in effect, "I am He of whom the prophet spoke and I am come to fulfil the promises made by God through him." In both these Old Testament passages the thought of success is clear and dominant—in neither of them is there any slightest suggestion of the suffering and death of the Messiah when He should come. And the hope and expectation of Jesus shine through them in a very striking and beautiful manner.

So far for the actual statements of Jesus regarding the purpose of His coming, introduced by the words "I am come" or "I came". We come now to the evidence that far from anticipating an early and terrible death He actually cherished high and happy hopes of success. There is the wedding bells atmosphere of the early Galilean days (Mark II, 19; cp. John II, 1-10), and the urgency of His proclamation of the nearness of the Kingdom (Mark I, 14, 15). There are the analogies of the light shining for "all that are in the house", of the mustard seed growing rapidly and to a great size, and of the leaven working uninterruptedly "till the whole was leavened" (Matt. V, 15; XIII, 31-33), in none of which is there any hint of anything but success. There is the clearly expressed hope of an abundant harvest available then and soon to be gathered (Matt. IX, 37; Luke X, 2; John IV, 35). The parable of the Sower (Mark IV, 3-8) is very noteworthy in this connection with its promise of great productiveness—"some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred"; it is true that there is a suggestion of a margin of waste but the essential note is expectancy.

The only place amongst all these passages where by any stretch of the imagination the cross may be thought to be foreshadowed is the 'Bridegroom saying' (Mark II, 20). But a strong case can be made out, as I have argued elsewhere,[1] for thinking that it is the possibility not the certainty of rejection and death that is really expressed here. I believe that Jesus realized from the beginning that these things might come about—He would have been strangely lacking in insight into the signs of the times if this had not been so. But I do not believe that there was any certainty about it, and

[1] *The Expository Times*, July, 1953.

therefore the passage cannot be regarded as denying the high hopes that on so many grounds we must believe He cherished. Something far better was both possible and purposed by God, and He came in the fullness of time to bring it about.

Finally we come to the undeniable fact of the disappointment of Jesus, through which we see so luminously shining His great hope for Israel and then for the whole world. There are three principal passages, and they are of such vital importance that I will quote them in full. First, the condemnation of the Galilean towns (Matt. xi, 20-24)—"Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done because they repented not: Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven shalt be brought down to hell, for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." Secondly, the lament over Jerusalem probably when they tried to stone Him on the occasion of His last but one visit to the city (Luke xiii, 34, 35)—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate, and verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." And thirdly, His sad words before the Entry as He approached the city (Luke xix, 42-44)—"If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee and compass thee round and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

The comment of C. J. Cadoux on these passages is so precise and convincing that I cannot do better than to quote it; it exactly expresses what I believe to be the truth and meaning of these words. "Now if Jesus spoke in this way, and meant what He said, and was not simply indulging in meaningless stage-play or unintelligent fatalism, He was expressing real and passionate disappointment. No feasible alternative view is possible. If these utterances do not evince a most poignant sense of frustration, they mean nothing.

But to say that is to say also that Jesus had formerly and for some considerable time expected confidently that the children of Jerusalem would flock together under Him, and that the city would realize that His ministry was a Divine visitation and would eagerly accept His message as essential for her peace. It is submitted that these three passages of themselves are sufficient proof of the thesis here maintained."[2] This judgment I endorse to the full, and it is a mystery to me that so many students of the Gospels and of the life of Jesus entirely ignore these three passages and miss their tremendous significance. They are fundamental to an understanding of Jesus and yet they are commonly passed over in silence.

One other passage is also of great importance, because it so clearly combines these two thoughts of hope and disappointment. It is the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark XII, 1-12, and parallels). The crucial words here are—"They will reverence my son", which seem quite meaningless unless they imply the hope of Jesus—and of God Himself—that the Jews would accept Him and yield the spiritual harvest purposed and promised throughout the Old Testament. The story throbs with the horror and disappointment of the great refusal and tragic mistake. There is no thought here at all that the death of Jesus was necessary and a part of the Divine plan—rather is it declared to be the awful climax to the long disobedience and apostasy of the Jews. It is the same truth which Stephen elaborated in his defence before the council: "Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers." (Acts VII, 51, 52).

In reply to all this it may, of course, be said that there are passages in the Gospels where Jesus apparently foresaw His coming death. That is certainly so. But apart from the Bridegroom passage with which I have already dealt they are all found in the latter half of the story when the antagonism to Him and His message was growing rapidly. I believe the possibility of rejection had been present to His mind from the beginning, and as the likelihood and even the probability of it became greater He naturally warned His followers that dire trouble lay ahead which might result in His death. But it was the "must" of necessity forced upon Him—the "needs must when the devil drives"—not any inherent inevitability rooted in the nature of God and His plan of salvation. I have studied the relevant passages and their implications at length elsewhere and will not pursue the matter now.[3]

What then of the Atonement, it may be asked? Far from

2 *The Historic Mission of Jesus*, p. 192.

3 *The Hope of Jesus*, pp. 164 f.

detracting from the essential message of redemption or lessening the evangelical appeal of the cross, the view for which I am contending here gives a more moving as well as a more ethical challenge. I believe Jesus came to atone, to make at one, to reconcile men and God. Men to God not God to men. God was always ready and willing like the father of the prodigal. Jesus came to win men to God, to woo men from their unwillingness into peace and love and harmony with God, and so to bring on earth God's promised Kingdom. During His lifetime many individuals were so reconciled, but when the greater part rejected and murdered Him He died at their hands praying for their pardon. His is a love that will not let men go. His death therefore became the great challenging message of God to men, winning to repentance and reconciliation all who will "survey the wondrous cross". And the process of atonement thus goes on—and will go on till the Kingdom has come.

Why did Jesus come? To answer that question I urge that we should go not to Aquinas or Calvin, to Barth or Brunner, but to Jesus Himself in the Gospels. Personally when I do that I find what I have written in these pages. Am I right or wrong? It is not a small matter about which different opinions can quite comfortably be held—like the authorship of the Fourth Gospel or whatnot. It is a fundamental question, views about which must radically affect life and thought—the training of our ministers in theological colleges and the development of a truly Christian attitude to politics, for example. It is not something to be ignored because there is a 'trend to the right nowadays,' or 'damned with faint praise' because of its affinities to liberalism. If this thesis that I have expounded here and more fully in my book, *The Hope of Jesus*, is wrong, strong and solid and sufficient reasons should be shewn for rejecting it. If it is right, we should be honest enough to say so, whatever previous theologies have to be consigned to the waste-paper basket.

Finally, regarding the crucial passages on which I have laid such stress certain straightforward questions demand an answer.

(1) Are the Gospels correct in depicting Jesus as sorrowing over what had not come about?

(2) Did He mean what He said and believe deeply that something different could and should have happened?

(3) If not, what did He mean?

(4) Was He thinking and feeling in tune with God's will when He thus spoke or was He out of tune?

(5) If the interpretation suggested here is wrong, how and where and why is it wrong?

To ignore these questions is uncritical, to shirk the issues is cowardly, to neglect this view of the hope of Jesus may be to miss the re-orientation of thought which this age so sorely needs.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions:

Theology and relevant studies: works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work: books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea: a limited selection from current general literature.

Periodical publications.

THEOLOGY
AND RELEVANT STUDIES

Ecumenical surveys prepared under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. S.C.M. 2s. 6d. each. *Faith and Order. Evangelism, Social Questions. International Affairs. Inter-group Relations. The Laity.*

The Summons to Unity. By R. P. C. Hanson. Edinburgh House. Cloth 5s., paper 3s. 6d.

The six booklets prepared by the World Council of Churches formed the background reading for the delegates attending the Second Assembly at Evanston, Illinois, in August. They must be read with the understanding that they are pre-Evanston, and that the way in which they influenced the reports of the sections of the Assembly varies considerably.

The Survey on *Faith and Order* mentions only briefly the idea that the way to Christ is the way to unity, though this is the new stress since Lund of the Faith and Order Commission. Its chief value lies in the fact that it clears up any misunderstandings about the nature of the World Council of Churches. It also provides an interesting survey of how Churches understand themselves. From this conspectus it is clear that Churches in the Reformed traditions tend to speak of themselves in terms of the Gospel and of the Bible and, if we reflect upon this, we see that they need to define their Churchmanship more clearly in relation to other types of churchmanship.

On this theme of Faith and Order there is also available the rather more interesting study by Dr. Hanson, who is Lecturer in the University of Nottingham and Hon. Secretary of the Faith and Order Department of the British Council of Churches. He begins by presenting fairly arguments against unity and expounds the Mission of the Church in the New Testament before developing his plea for unity. He does not seem to be aware of the fact that the Mission of the Church in the modern world ought to be the main theme of the Faith and Order Commission, and it also seems to be hidden from him that there are unresolved contradictions implicit in the term 'Biblical theology'. But his book is honest, illuminating and attractive.

The sub-title of the survey on *Evangelism* is the Mission of the Church to those outside her life. This approach removes the Church from the judgment and blessing which God's call to His Mission brings upon her, and defines the object by reference to the Church instead of to God's world. The survey of evangelistic effort needs to be fuller to be really helpful, and it is coming to be recognized that much more study needs to be given to elucidation of and agreement upon the Theology of Mission.

The surveys on *Social Questions, International Affairs* and *Intergroup Relations* are first-class pieces of work which undoubtedly contributed greatly to the excellent reports which came from the sections at Evanston. Here are firstly an adequate treatment of very diverse social conditions, real illumination on what has been done on behalf of the Churches in international affairs 1948-54, and a careful presentation of the issue of racial barriers which led to the remarkable declaration at Evanston. At Evanston also the section on Social Affairs prefaced its study of world conditions with a concern for the family, co-operating group, and the Christian Congregation, which is of great importance. If this concern can be developed the studies of the World Council of Churches may hope to penetrate and benefit the crucial sphere of local action.

If any one of these surveys has to be singled out as of special importance it is undoubtedly the one on *The Laity,* the Christian in his vocation. It is a presentation of the results of studies on the Christian understanding of work in the modern world. By "laity" is meant "the vast body of church members who spend their lives in what is called a *secular* occupation which absorbs the major part of their time." It attempts to meet what it describes as the fact that "the estrangement between the present world and the Christian message arises largely from two areas: work in modern society and the actual life of the organized Church". It is, of course, much easier to recognize that some aspects of institutional Church life are out of touch with the springs of modern life than it is to carry through a creative and life-giving modification of them. But the booklet attempts to provide help for the re-education of congregations to meet the opportunities which God is giving to His Church in our generation. There is no issue on which the gulfs between international, national and local discussion need bridging more quickly. This part at least of the thinking of the World Council of Churches needs the widest possible dissemination and discussion.

H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

Evanston Speaks. Reports from the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches. 115 pp. S.C.M. 2s. 6d.

Looking at Evanston. By H. G. G. HERKLOTS. 114 pp. S.C.M. 3s. 6d.

These two books follow, logically and chronologically, those reviewed above by Principal Cunliffe-Jones. *Evanston Speaks* is an official record of the Message and Reports commended by the World Council to the constituent Churches. It is an indispensable source document for those who wish to know the exact wording of the reports and resolutions. *Looking at Evanston* is at once a study and an impression. Canon Herklots provides in this little book an admirable commentary for those who wish to set the bare reports against some kind of background. A valuable appendix contains the full list of member Churches, which the official publication curiously lacks.

A. R. V.

Congregationalism: A Restatement. DANIEL T. JENKINS. 152 pp. Faber and Faber. 10s. 6d.

The Ecumenical Movement has had two apparently contradictory results: on the one hand, it has made the Churches more than ever aware of their fundamental unity and ashamed of their division; on the other, it has made every Communion more self-conscious, for each has had to ask once more, "What is our distinctive witness?" and to ask it *vis-à-vis* the witness of other Communions. Daniel Jenkins has essayed to do this for Congregationalism; and few there can be who are better fitted for the task: he is a theologian who not only knows the history of our churches but understands

the issues involved both historically and within the contemporary world of culture and affairs; he is the pastor of a Congregational Church in England; he is a visiting Professor in the University of Chicago, and therefore better aware than most of us of Congregationalism in the United States. Having discussed Congregationalism and the Ecumenical Movement and described Congregationalism both as to appearance and essence, Jenkins discusses the relation of faith and freedom; the local church, ministry and the great Church; worship and the common life; manners and morals; Congregationalism and Secular Society; and finally, what prospect there is for our order of churchmanship. Let it be said at once that this is all very ably done. Whether it will be acceptable is beside the point, since Jenkins is raising issues which no Congregationalist can avoid; and if, as is likely enough, certain people say that he has given us the wrong answers, it will be their responsibility to provide better ones.

In general, I find myself in very cordial agreement with what Jenkins has written; and while I am sure that the whole book is well worth pondering, I would especially commend those chapters in which he tries to relate our church-life to the life of the world about us. It is here that he can help us most, for he is so much more *au fait* than many of us with what is afoot in the world of culture generally. Yet I would ask whether it is really the time of day to ask what *Congregationalism* has to say to the modern man. At what point do we become content to join hands with all who will declare to him the *Gospel?* Jenkins says that Congregationalism's record in the visual arts is particularly poor (p. 115): so what? If he castigates us as *Christians* for being philistine, well and good, and we must try to mend our ways; but if he supposes that there is, or should be, a Congregationalist "line" on the visual arts, surely he is simply barking up the wrong tree. I regret with him that we cannot count many literary lions among our number; but I decline to engage in the denominational self-consciousness which tells the world how many Methodists have been elected to Parliament! All of which means that I should have been even happier with this book if at times the word "Christian" had been substituted for "Congregational."

A protest should be entered against the astonishing complaint against our manners (p. 103) that "lady deacons are frequently not served first at the Lord's Table." Women (the *biblical* word for the *bourgeois* 'lady') are not elected to the diaconate because they are women any more than men are elected because they are men; and where in all the world would it be less appropriate than at the Lord's Table to emphasize a distinction of sex which Christ has done away? But I must not end on an ungrateful note, for this book is very much a tract for the times. May it be read and wrestled with: that would be for the great good of our Churches.

The Historic Episcopate. By KENNETH M. CAREY (Ed.). 140 pp. Dacre Press. 8s. 6d.

Here are seven essays by priests of the Church of England, who are concerned about the attitude which their Church adopts towards the Church of South India, who combine with devotion to their own Communion a conscientious unwillingness to "unchurch a body of Christians simply because they have not got the historic episcopate" (p. 7, cf. 22), yet feel an obligation to "show the Nonconformists a *theological* interpretation of episcopacy which does not involve a denial of their own past" (p. 8). One immediately enquires what new tidings are to be proclaimed; and it is at once interesting to see that Canon Carey and his colleagues are definitely out of step with the late Bishop of Oxford and his collaborators in the

Apostolic Ministry: nor is 'taking episcopacy into your system' regarded as a likely or even desirable solution of the problems of intercommunion and Christian unity; nor yet are these authors at all content with advocating episcopacy merely on the level of expediency.

At the close of the opening essay, *Kingdom, Church and Ministry*, by J. A. T. Robinson, these words appear, emphasized by italics: "we affirm that the episcopate is dependent on the Church, and not the Church on the episcopate. We believe its possession to be a necessary mark of the Church's fullness, rather than an indispensable qualification for its being a part. It is not what makes the Church the Church—so that in exclusion from it everything else falls to the ground. But in repudiation of it the Church can never express the plenitude of its Being as the one Body of Christ in history" (p. 22). The justification of this view is held to be that the Church exists between the Kingdom accomplished and the Kingdom acknowledged; that, therefore, the Church is always under the judgment of the Kingdom; and that the ministry depends on the Church as the Church on the Kingdom. Orders, that is, are 'valid' if a Church is a true Church; but a Church is not a Church merely because the orders of its priests are 'valid'. It is further claimed that in the N.T. *episcope* is that which mediates to this present age the visitation of God to his people in Christ's first and last coming: "between these two moments . . . . the *episcope* is committed to the Church in its ministry . . . . till the Chief Shepherd shall be manifested (*I Peter*, v, 4), the Shepherd who is himself the *Episcopus* of souls (*I Peter*, ii, 25), (p. 18). This kind of theme is worked out in subsequent chapters, which deal with the ministry in the New Testament, in the Fathers, and in the Elizabethan and Caroline divines.

This is a more coherent book than many symposia; and the intellectual calibre as well as the fine Christian spirit of the writers makes it a delightful as well as an important and weighty contribution to the discussion about Christian unity. Yet it leaves one wondering whether what is here said about episcopacy might not equally well be said either of the whole Church or of the ministry as understood by the Reformed Churches here and on the Continent; and ought not T. W. Manson's *The Church's Ministry* to have been given more serious consideration? JOHN HUXTABLE.

The Parting of the Ways: Judaism and the Rise of Christianity. By A. COHEN. 96 pp. Lincolns-Prager. 3s. 6d.

This is the first booklet of a new series, the Popular Jewish Library. As a "popular" handbook it does not claim to say anything new, but it is a competent enough sketch of the development of thought among the Jews "between the Testaments", which here means from the period of Ezra to the separation of Christianity from Judaism. The chapter on Parties in Jewry is a good summary, particularly on the Essenes. The concluding chapter, "The Rise of Christianity," presents a very different point of view from the normal Christian reading of the New Testament, but it is a balanced and temperate statement, and Dr. Cohen knows his New Testament, though he makes a remarkable slip (p. 85) in attributing the recommendations of the Jerusalem Council to Paul. This chapter is the more valuable for Christian readers because of its divergence from their usual point of view. A. M. PRICE.

Oral Tradition. By E. NIELSEN. 108 pp. S.C.M. 7s.

This book, No. 11 in the series *Studies in Biblical Theology*, deals with oral tradition in the Old Testament. It consists of an expansion of three articles translated from Danish, and no higher commendation could be

desired than that of Professor H. H. Rowley who in his Foreword expresses the opinion that Mr. Nielsen's book offers "a better introduction to 'traditio-historical criticism than can be found elsewhere in any of the international languages of scholarship". The author is much influenced by adherents of the "school" like Pedersen, Nyberg and Engnell, though his detailed discussion of *Gen.* 6-9 and *Micah* 4-5, given as examples of traditio-historical method, is his own. These examples are exceedingly complex, and likely to daunt many a reader who has successfully surmounted the lesser difficulties in the first three chapters. The radical opposition to the methods of literary criticism, which postulates ancient written sources like J, is succinctly expressed in the opening paragraph of the third chapter: "The point of departure for this chapter is taken from Nyberg's words: 'The written Old Testament is a creation of the post-exilic Jewish community; of what existed earlier undoubtedly only a small part was in fixed written form'. That is to say, the Old Testament as *written* literature may in all probability be ascribed to the period between the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and the time of the Maccabees."

John Mill and Richard Bentley. By ADAM FOX. 168 pp. Blackwell. 25s.

John Mill (1645-1707), former Scholar and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, later Principal of St. Edmund Hall, died a fortnight after the publication of the fruit of thirty years' labour, his famous Greek New Testament with Variant Readings and Prolegomena. Mill's book was a landmark, not because he attempted a new text (Mill's text is substantially that of Stephanus, 1550), but because he went much further than his predecessors in the collation of variants, of which his book exhibits about 30,000 drawn from a larger number of manuscripts than ever before, as well as from the versions and Fathers, and because he set to work on principles which, if sometimes unsound, are often surprisingly near the mark. Canon Fox, however, has done much more than describe one stage in the history of the textual study of the Greek Testament. He makes the scholar live, so that we see him amid the political currents of Queen Anne's reign and the rivalries and animosities, academic and other, of the Oxford of his day. Scholars are the same in every age: Mill sometimes "expressed a strong opinion, favourable or otherwise, about some book he had not read"! (p. 40); and "he was dilatory, he was apt to hoard borrowed books, he was prone to underrate the work of others in his own particular field" (p. 42).

Canon Fox devotes the last third of his fascinating book to a sketch of the controversy with the "Free-thinkers" after the appearance of Mill's work. Whitby, on behalf of orthodoxy, had tried to reduce the number of Mill's variants which he feared, with reason, would encourage attacks on the reliability of the biblical text. Here the great classical scholar, Richard Bentley (d. 1740) enters the story as the most doughty protagonist of Mill's work. His words are still relevant: "If Religion [therefore] was true before, though such Various Readings were in being: it will be as true and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. Depend on't; no Truth, no matter of Fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert True Religion" (p. 114). Bentley himself in his famous "Proposals" planned a new Greek Testament, but ultimately abandoned the project. Yet although he returned to the classics, he was still to perform his most direct service to Greek Testament studies. In 1731 he rescued Codex Alexandrinus from a disastrous fire in Ashburnham House. Canon Fox's book is a masterpiece of attractive presentation of the results of much detailed research.

The Text and Canon of the New Testament. By Alexander Souter. Revised by C. S. C. Williams. 236 pp. Duckworth. 8s. 6d.

This important new edition of a standard work takes into account the discoveries of manuscripts and the developments in textual criticism and the history of the Canon which have taken place since it was first published in 1913.

The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions (edited by the late Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson in 1940) has been reissued in a corrected form (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 349 pp., 21s.) with the addition of eight half-tone plates illustrating manuscripts, and a short, cautiously worded Appendix on the Dead Sea Scrolls by Professor W. D. McHardy. A list of some of the literature on the Scrolls has also been added to the bibliography.

A. J. B. Higgins.

The Origin of the Gospel of Mark. By H. A. Guy. 176 pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 10s. 6d.

Starting from the fact of Mark's repetitions, awkward additions, etc., Mr. Guy explains them as comments of early Christian preachers which eventually got carried over into the written tradition. Mark himself is visualized as the compiler who arranged the material, and there was a final editor who prepared it for publication and inserted many of the links and repetitions which are so baffling.

This theory is plausible in reference to some passages (e.g. vii, 19), but hardly for x. 45. We are left wondering why it is not made to cover xiii, 14 and iv, 10-12. The assumption that preachers made the same asides and applications of Gospel naratives time and time again until they became stereotyped so that a compiler could actually include them with the rest of the narrative is surely asking too much of the imagination. It is safer to admit the casualness of the Gospel as we have it and lay the blame on the final redactor. Form Criticism has done much to explain this feature of Mark. Even if we do not wholly accept the thesis of this able book, we must commend the constructive use it makes of form-critical methods. It certainly makes the origin of Mark intelligible as something more than a repetition of Peter's reminiscences or as a mere framework holding together units of primitive tradition.

I Peter. A Paschal Liturgy. By F. L. Cross. 50 pp. Mowbray. 3s. 6d.

Professor Cross aligns himself with those who regard I Peter (or at least 1, i-iv, 11) as a baptismal charge, but goes far beyond this in his own theory that it was originally the address for an Easter baptismal service. He points out the references to the Passion and Resurrection as well as to baptism, and his argument is very convincing. The epistle is liturgical, containing the part of the celebrant, and not homiletic only. The actual act of baptism was performed after 1, 21. Professor Cross favours an early dating, though he does not commit himself to Petrine authorship.

E. C. Blackman.

The Reformation in England. III—"True Religion Now Established" By Philip Hughes. 457 pp. Hollis & Carter. 42s.

The second volume of this work having been reviewed in these pages as recently as last July, it is not necessary again to commend the great virtues equally present in this last volume, which covers the reign of Elizabeth I. Fr. Hughes here goes very fully over ground already attractively sketched out by him in the second part of his *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England,* published in 1942. His subject is one with as

perennial a fascination for students of Recusant as for students of Protestant Nonconformist history; indeed, Fr. Hughes' angle of approach reminds one at times of Albert Peel's.

In the first part of the book, 'The Second Conversion of England', for instance, there is the familiar emphasis on 'an insufficient ministry' in the Established Church. Here, however, it has an added piquancy from the presentation some pages earlier of Jewel and the early Anglican apologists as standing forth 'in the name of honest scholarship': 'the authority of the teaching church . . . is no longer to be a valid argument'; they have 'no other credentials than the books they have read and their *apparatus criticus*'. Fr. Hughes also very properly points out the contrast between Jewel's frank admission that 'we have forsaken the church as it is now' and the way in which, later, the bishops denounce Cartwright and Barrow 'in the very phrases used, from the beginning, by the Catholics against themselves; they . . . took over from the Catholics, for the purpose of destroying their own domestic critics, something of that Catholic theory of the Church which . . . they had lately stigmatized as a human invention, a thing devised for the profit of the popes'.

In the second part of the book, 'Delenda', Fr. Hughes condemns the persecution of the Roman Catholics in Elizabeth's reign in terms made more acceptable by his condemnation earlier of the persecution of the Protestants in Mary's. He does his best to keep separate, not only in his own pages, but in the minds of the persecutors, the political machinations of Allen and Persons and Crichton, which he does not defend, and the purely religious activities of the priests in general. He argues with much skill that 'the effect of the plots . . . was merely to serve the government with a pretext by which to justify its fiercer laws'. The reader would feel easier here if Fr. Hughes had more frankly considered not only the 183 men and women put to death between 1577 and 1603 who are 'claimed by the Catholic Church as martyrs' but the other sufferers, far fewer but not non-existent, who for good reasons are not so claimed.

University Representation in England 1604-1690. By Millicent Barton Rex. 406 pp. Allen & Unwin. 30s.

Closely following the work on *Members of the Long Parliament*, also reviewed in these pages last July, comes another 'specialist study of a type warmly to be welcomed', this fifteenth volume, issued by Dr. Rex from Washington, D.C., of the Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. 'As an example of functional representation', Dr. Rex admits, 'the university franchise . . . was not particularly successful. During much of the seventeenth century, it served largely as a means of securing a number of safe seats for the Crown'. Its original purpose, in any case, she shows to have been rather to serve as a protection to the universities than as a channel for their contribution to public life. She divides her book into the three periods 1604-1640, 1640-1660 and 1660-1690, with a retrospective summary at the end of each period; and in so careful and impartial a work it is pleasing to read her measured approval of the calibre of the university members during the second of these periods. Of special interest to Congregational readers is her account of the election of John Owen for Oxford University in 1654 and of his disqualification (despite his wish to be regarded as a 'mear layman') under the Clerical Disabilities Act of 1642.

The New England Mind: the Seventeenth Century. By PERRY MILLER. 528 pp. Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberledge). 52s.

This book, which was strongly commended to our readers when it was issued in 1940, has won its place among the discerning as one of the most important studies of Puritanism in general, as well as of 'the New England mind', which have appeared in the last fifty years: its penetration and the illumination it disperses are exceptional. In 1940 men's minds were preoccupied with matters more immediate; and from many libraries where one would expect to find it it is missing. Its reissue is therefore specially to be welcomed. It is, however, only a reissue, not a new edition; and, although it would be inviting to review it afresh alongside of its successor, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953), in which 'the ideas, the cosmology, the schematic values set forth in this volume' are shown to have undergone 'a transformation', the publishers have unfortunately not seen fit to honour us with a copy of the latter volume.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Yorkshire United Independent College. By KENNETH WADSWORTH. 195 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

The bicentenary of Yorkshire United Independent College falls in 1956. The publication of this book is an essential prelude to its celebration not only because it tells the story of two hundred years of training for the Christian ministry by the Congregational churches of Yorkshire but because it makes an important assessment of the problems and opportunities which face this College and all our colleges today. Mr. Wadsworth is to be warmly congratulated on a well-written and unfailingly interesting book, and the College on the discovery of such a worthy historian. The story he tells so well begins with the rise of the Dissenting Academies, especially those of Richard Frankland, Timothy Jollie, and John Wadsworth in Yorkshire, and then traces in vivid detail the beginning of the Heckmondwike Academy under James Scott in 1756. From Heckmondwike and its immediate continuation at Northowram came the streams through Masbro Academy and Rotherham College on the one hand and Idle, Undercliffe and Heaton on the other which since 1888 flow together in the United College at Emm Lane, Bradford. To these academies and colleges belong many great names of past teachers, men like Edward Williams, James Bennett, W. H. Stowell, Walter Scott, A. M. Fairbairn, F. J. Falding, D. W. Simon and, more recently, Archibald Duff, Elkanah Armitage, E. Griffith-Jones, A. J. Grieve, E. J. Price and C. J. Cadoux, and of students. One wished, in reading, that the names of more of Yorkshire's great students could have been given. But the men who are named live again under Mr. Wadsworth's pen. Equally well he reconstructs the social conditions, the struggles for religious liberty, the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the two world wars, the rise and fall and the wealth and poverty of Yorkshire churches, the changes in theological emphasis and opinion, and against this background he sets the changing pattern of theological studies, the fiercely loyal relationship of churches to the College, the "amalgamation problem", the endless struggle for financial stability, and the unremitting endeavour to train an educated ministry with a message for the contemporary situation. Mr. Wadsworth is more than a *laudator temporis acti* and a chronicler of the story of the colleges however heroic and memorable their annals. He squarely faces the problems which are shared by all our colleges: finance, adjustment to modern conditions and demands, the flow of students, the curriculum, relations with the churches, the number of our colleges and the

possibility of further amalgamation. The friends of Yorkshire College and its past and present students will naturally wish to secure copies of this book. But it deserves a reading public much wider than this. Those who talk about the work of our colleges, those who should talk about it, and those who know so pathetically little about the work they do, ought to read it. And it ought to fire all of our colleges to find their own historians who will tell their own stories with similar skill, enthusiasm and insight.

W. Gordon Robinson.

The Pure in Heart: A Study in Christian Sanctity. By W. E. Sangster. 254 pp. Epworth Press. 18s. 6d.

This is the Will of God: A Study in the Doctrine of Entire Sanctification as a Definite Experience. By John H. J. Barker. 110 pp. Epworth Press. 5s.

The subject of these studies is of absorbing interest to some Christians and the interest seems to be reviving at the moment after a period of decline. All Christians, of course, have an interest in it, for it is true enough that man's chief problem is himself and the changing of his human nature; but some Christians are allergic to the direct kind of attack on this problem which is represented in the cult of sanctity. There is an alternative, though sadly undeveloped, theology of how creaturely life is hallowed, which underlies this allergy. Any movement towards a united Free Church in England embracing Methodism and Orthodox Dissent may well have to cope with these disparate theologies. It is the voice of Methodism which speaks robustly but not very critically in these two books.

Dr. Sangster's book opens with a broad survey of the idea of holiness and the Biblical development of the concept up to the point where the "saints" are those upon whom the Holy Spirit has come. He remarks that "the New Testament teaches as normal a higher level of life than multitudes within the Church . . . enjoy" (p. 42), and asks how far this anomaly may be traced to the tradition of a "double standard" on the one hand, and to neglect of the doctrine of "a Holy Spirit's energies" on the other. He then proceeds to examine the practical expression within the great divisions of Christendom of the cult of "heroic virtue", and suggests that the saints have been raised up to render not only an exemplary service but also a reconciling service, for there are common lineaments in the portrait of the saint in all traditions. He expounds these common lineaments in what is virtually a series of sermons on the harvest of the Spirit according to Galatians v, 22; and then discusses "the Path to the Peak" in five concluding chapters. Of these, the chapter on "the Death of Self" most commended itself to me. "The saints are sane because they see reality as it is. God at the heart of all things! His love moving out to all whom he has made. The universe in his hands. In him an answer to all the needs of life. This truth, grasped and adored, explains everything that seems mysterious in the saints" (p. 232). This most readable book did not, I confess, inspire in me a more enthusiastic attitude to the great succession of "athletes of the Spirit" who "essay the heights", but it presents the story well. Perhaps I should have been shaken from my allergy if Dr. Sangster had made something of the point which theologically lies at the core of Roman hagiology, namely that the saints, unlike most of the dead in Christ, are in heaven. But this, after all, is a Protestant book. It is written by a Methodist preacher, and other preachers will draw on it with joy.

Mr. Barker's book is in no sense a detached study. It comes to the reader with the direct force of a clear and closely-knit series of convention addresses. Those "who know and teach holiness" inevitably suppose that

the bulk of Church members are making do with a pale shadow of Christian experience, and this can be the occasion of grievous tensions within the Church. But Mr. Barker's statement of their concern should command the deepest respect. I am puzzled about the fundamental thesis that all Christians should strive "to enjoy the conscious manifestation of the fullness of the Spirit". Mr. Barker talks about it Biblically, with considerable theological sensitiveness. If it is right to cultivate an area of life called "spiritual experience", then I am sure that his story about it is the right one. Is it fair to suggest that in this line of teaching we have the Gospel robbed of any historical perspectives (and I am not getting at his Biblical Fundamentalism, which doesn't worry me at all in this case) and this throws things slightly out of proportion? Be that as it may, I am glad to possess this book.

What is Religion? By ALBAN G. WIDGERY. Allen & Unwin. 330 pp. 18s.

This book provides a descriptive answer to the question asked in its title, and the description and discussion are presented as the Philosophy of Religion. The author is Professor of Philosophy at Duke University. In a useful appendix he distinguishes several forms of rational discussion about religion—religious philosophy, rational theology, natural theology, philosophical theology—and marks off from them the form which he favours, namely Philosophy of Religion as initiated by Vatke and developed by Pfleiderer and Sabatier. "Philosophy of Religion is not a Religious philosophy; it is not an application of the ideas of religion to philosophy, but of philosophy to the facts of religion" (p. 324). Philosophers need "an adequate consideration of the nature of religion in human life. One need of the theologians is a consideration of religion, not as something to be described in a traditional systematic theology, but within the scope of a general philosophy" (p. 66). The facts of religion are presented by the positive disciplines of Psychology of Religion, History of Religion and the Comparative Study of Religions. Having decided that one is a Dualist and thus placed oneself on the map of general philosophy (one can also be an Idealist but not a Materialist), one may then proceed to work out a departmental Philosophy of Religion under seven headings: (1) the nature of knowledge in religion, and the way it is obtained; (2) the nature of man as he experiences himself in religion; the ideas concerning his origin and destiny; (3) the nature of God; (4) the ideas relative to sin, suffering and salvation; (5) the practices, rites and ceremonies; (6) the emotional attitudes and ideals; (7) the meanings in religion. This philosophizing, being critical, "should lead to an emancipation of actual religions from the dross they carry along from their past histories". Being also constructive and axiological "it should present an ideal with which they should be brought to conform" (p. 301). Evidently the author knows just what to do about religion, philosophically speaking. Philosophy of Religion, we read, "insists that . . .", "emphasizes that . . .", "can find no significance in . . .", and (particularly when we get to something that really matters) "is not concerned with . . .". It would make for greater clarity if, for the words "Philosophy of Religion", the words "Alban G. Widgery" were substituted in such sentences. It is surprising that A. N. Whitehead appears to have made no contribution to the subject worth mentioning and p. 160 gives an excellent example of how not to treat a great man, S. Alexander. Nevertheless there is useful material in the book. The theme is clear, well developed and inspiring to those who are content to ignore a few major questions in the interest of cheering the toiling masses on their way.

W. A. WHITEHOUSE.

Revelation and Religion: Studies in the Theological Interpretation of Religious Types (Gifford Lectures, 1950). By H. H. FARMER. 244 pp. Nisbet. 17s. 6d.

In this notable series of Gifford Lectures Professor Farmer takes a line very different from the well-worn path that leads from the facts of our experience of the world or of ourselves to the establishment of a theistic conclusion. What he aims at doing is to provide us with a theological interpretation of religion from the standpoint of Christian theism. He assumes the truth of the central Christian affirmation that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. He further assumes that underlying all religious phenomena there is an identifiable essence which distinguishes them from other phenomena superficially akin to them. He also assumes —in regard to religion itself—that in his religion man is responding to the approach of ultimate reality, and that this ultimate reality is personal. In all religions, and not only in Christianity, there is thus an element of revelation; and in Christianity as well as in other religions there is corruption of religion. Yet in the Christian revelation and in the faith by which it is received we have the normative conception of religion itself. This is the thesis of the book. Taking that normative conception as being more closely defined by Christian worship, the author gives us two luminous chapters on the essence of Christian worship, which he sets in the framework of the formula "God—Father, Son and Holy Spirit". In this way the normative conception of religion receives a fuller and more precise content, which the rest of the book uses to clarify and interpret the bewildering complexity of religious phenomena. It appears that there are seven elements in essential religion which Christianity is able to unify, while in the other religions now one, now another, predominates, to the distortion and weakening of the rest. The main types of religion can be distinguished according to the several elements that predominate in them.

A bald summary like this can give no idea of the richness and profundity of Professor Farmer's book. The treatment is thorough and academically satisfying, but the lectures are far more than an academic study. Not only the work as a whole but the separate analyses and discussions it contains are truly "contemporary". One may instance the carefully worked-out distinction between "substantival" and "adjectival" religion and the discussion of the relation between the individual and corporate aspects of religion as highly relevant to our immediate evangelistic task. The brilliant last chapter, "The Element of Unification in Religion", includes a brief but invaluable account of the difference between a genuinely Christian mysticism and other varieties, which will be welcome to many readers who may be puzzled as to the meaning of that "notoriously ambiguous and elusive" concept. In range and depth of treatment, as in perspicuity of style, this series of Giffords is worthy to rank with the best.

Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist. By E. L. Mascall. 188 pp. Longmans. 15s.

This book consists of a series of studies centred round the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ as "a reality of the sacramental order, preserved and nourished by the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood". These studies are marked by great learning and great clarity of exposition. A list of chapter headings may be useful: The One Church, The Church and Sacraments, The Eucharistic Sacrifice, The Eucharistic Presence, The Eucharistic Theology of St. Thomas, The Eucharistic Theology of Gore, "Private Masses", "Adoration" and "Benediction". Congregationalists are not likely to turn naturally to this book or to use the language it uses

concerning the Church and Sacraments, but in these ecumenical days it may be that they should regard it as a duty to read a book like this with the closest and most sympathetic attention. It would be easy to list points of disagreement, but the extent of common ground in the field of eucharistic theology is truly remarkable and makes more than ever intolerable the barriers to full intercommunion. H. F. Lovell Cocks.

Spiritual Perspectives and Human Facts. By Frithjof Schuon. 213 pp. Faber & Faber. 21s. Translation from the French by Macleod Matheson.

The theme of this interesting book is the religious truth of unity in diversity and diversity in unity. The great religions of mankind are different because of limited perspectives and varying symbolisms of a basic religious truth. Essential truth at its deepest level is one, which truth religions see in differing perspectives. The formulations of each religion are dogmatic in their surface perspectives and so restrict their immediate intelligibility. The author attempts to get down beneath the dogmatc formulations to a spiritual perspective in which they are seen to be in essential unity. Once we attain to this ontological clarity, we achieve the ontological assurance of the truth which is the mark of the saints and prophets. This is a book well worth reading. There is a good, thought-provoking chapter on Spiritual Virtues. Unlike many such books, this is not indifferent to moral and personal values.

The Transformed Abbott. By Karl Reichelt. 157 pp. Lutterworth. 12s. 6d. Translated from the Norwegian by G. M. Reichelt and A. P. Rose.

The Abbot is Miao-Chi of whom there is a frontispiece photo. From 43 years' experience in China, and having met many thousand Buddhist monks, Dr. Reichelt considers Miao-Chi the most outstanding in religious disposition, earnestness and religious gifts. He was born in 1895 and died in 1930, his lifetime thus covering a critical time in Formosa where he was born, and in China and Japan where he studied and worked. This is a wonderful story well told. It gives an insight into the inner religious life of Buddhists far different from any text-book on Buddhism. The religious hungering of earnest Buddhists becomes alive to us through these pages with their picturesque background of monastery life in Buddhist countries. Gradually we see how Miao-Chi towards the end of his short but busy life found fuller rest in Christian experience than he could in Buddhism. This book is missionary reading of the highest type. H. V. Martin.

Human Society in Ethics and Politics. By Bertrand Russell. 239 pp. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

The criticism has been levelled against Bertrand Russell that he over-estimates the part of reason in human affairs. This he wishes to dispel both by formal allegiance to Hume's dictum that "reason is and ought only to be, the slave of the passions", and by this present work (some of which was written almost ten years ago) which treats discursively of human emotions and passions, and of their effect upon our destiny. It would be impossible here to keep track of the argument, which seeks to expound an undogmatic ethic and to apply it to the most urgent problem of our time, that of man's survival in the world. Broadly speaking the view is that the whole subject of ethics arises from the pressure of the community on the individual, and is not laid upon us by God. Ethical progress will come, if at all, by a better education of the emotions and a better apportionment of praise and blame, not by a revived belief in supernatural sanctions.

The author takes interesting account of man's love of excitement, for which more constructive outlets should be provided in our civilized life. One may share the impish delight with which he sets in their places all elderly pleasure-deploring moralists: "If it is the devil who tempts the young to enjoy themselves, is it not perhaps the same personage that persuades the old to condemn their enjoyment? And is not condemnation perhaps merely a form of excitement appropriate to old age?"

Two strands of discourse run through the chapters. The first is a hatred of cruelty which, the author thinks, is a far from universal phenomenon. This hatred leads occasionally to such questionable statements that one wonders whether it hides an even stronger fear of pain. That "nothing has so beneficent an effect on human beings as security" can hardly be shown to be true. The second strand is the author's dealings with God, to whom he is related by unbelief. The sense of sin he finds easy to recognize, but the concept of sin is obscure, "especially if we attempt to interpret it in non-theological terms." There is no hope for the world in religion, and a decay of dogmatic belief can do nothing but good. What is required to make the world happy is intelligence which can be fostered by known methods of education. But Bertrand Russell qualifies these terms. The requisite intelligence is that of the individual human heart, educated in "Christian love or compassion". He does not know whether such an intelligentsia will lead us out of our troubles, but beyond all reason he is "unconquerably persuaded" that it will. CONRAD BONIFAZI.

Education and the Modern Mind. By W. R. NIBLETT. 155 pp. Faber & Faber. 8s. 6d.

The Professor of Education at Leeds University has written a very interesting and indeed profound book on a burning modern problem. Everyone nowadays is concerned about the apparent lack of stability in this generation, and the relativism that is induced by the modern scientific temper. In education it has shown itself in concern for techniques rather than for values, and all thoughtful teachers of whatever grade of school are very much disturbed by it. Mr. Niblett deals with this problem with insight and knowledge. He also has a very pleasant style which makes his little book a delight to read. On the question of religious education he does not believe in allowing a child to grow up anyhow, and he deals faithfully with the fallacy that religious teaching is an undue influence on a child who ought to be allowed to find his own way uninstructed into the Kingdom.

A. V. MURRAY.

Christianity by Degrees. By WALTON HANNAH. 222 pp. Augustine Press. 12s. 6d.

The sub-title of this book, to which Dr. E. L. Mascall of Oxford contributes a Foreword, is 'Masonic religion revealed in the light of faith'. The author has returned to the theme of his recent book, *Darkness Visible*, in which he provided the text of the Masonic ritual of the first three degrees, and the Royal Arch: these, it appears, are the basis of the whole Masonic structure. Fr. Hannah, who is an Anglican minister, implied in his treatment of this theme that it was not consistent for anyone to be a Christian and a Freemason. Such an argument raised much controversy, during which the oft-asserted plea was made that the higher degrees of masonry are much more patient of Christian interpretation. In this second book, therefore, Fr. Hannah takes up this point, and discusses the rituals of the Rose Croix of Heredom, The Knights of Kadosh or Thirtieth Degree, the Knights Templar, and the Knights of Malta. Each reader will have to

make his own judgment about Fr. Hannah's contention that these rituals are not in keeping with Christianity and that, therefore, participation in them is incompatible with loyal membership of the Christian Church. It should be said, of course, that the author does not claim that all these rituals are equally objectionable.

To the reviewer two points at least are clear. First of all, this book has every appearance of being well-documented and accurate. Apparently the Masonic rituals are not wrapped in such mystery as is sometimes supposed; and literature concerning them is obviously available. It seems legitimate, therefore, to assume that (at least in general) the information given in this book is accurate. If so, it seems perfectly clear in the second place that Fr. Hannah has proved his point. If this is the Masonic ritual, it is disclosed for a rehash of something very like the Gnostic mystery-cults, such as primitive Christianity regarded as a basic enemy; and it is difficult indeed to imagine any intelligent Christian participating in such ceremonies with a good conscience, particularly if he is a Protestant. Two alternatives alone remain: either those who take part in these rituals do not take them seriously, in which case they amount to no more than play-acting; or else they are taken seriously by men some of whom at least have sufficient theological training to realize the real nature of these esoteric and Pelagian rites.

JOHN HUXTABLE.

Czechoslovak Protestantism Today. By A. MOLNAR.

Kalich, Central Church Publishing House, Prague. 42 pp. Not priced.

This is a most stimulating and interesting production. It recounts the history of Protestant witness in Czechoslovakia since the time of John Huss, and shows with what virility that witness still continues. The book is illustrated with more than fifty very good photographs.

The Synod of the Church of South India has published through the Oxford University Press, *An Order for the Lord's Supper*, 1s. 3d., *Bible Readings and Collects*, 1s. 6d., and *Daily Bible Readings*, 2s.

Students of liturgy will be interested in these booklets, and so will all who are concerned to know how the Church of South India is shaping itself.

The Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Belfast, has published two pamphlets, *Sacramental Confession* and *Indulgences*, at 6d. each. However friendly we are, and should be, to our fellow Christians in the Roman Communion, we ought nevertheless to be informed accurately on those thorny questions which keep us apart. Dr. King deals with two of them with scholarly competence in these pamphlets. It was indignation at the system of Indulgences that drove Martin Luther out of the Roman Church. Most of us still stand with him and his 95 theses.

The Methodist Principles of Church Order by E. W. Thompson (Epworth, 6d.) gives a reasoned Methodist reply to the Anglican suggestion of "taking Episcopacy into your system".

A. R. V.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

In the Steps of Jesus. By H. V. Morton. 182 pp. Methuen. 8s. 6d.

Christ and the Sailor. By Peter F. Anson. 198 pp. Burns and Oates. 13s. 6d.

The Destroyer of Jesus. By Victor E. Harlow. 256 pp. Modern Publishers Inc., Oklahoma City, U.S.A. $3. 50c.

A Personal Jesus. By Upton Sinclair. 217 pp. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

Mr. H. V. Morton's *In the Steps of the Master,* first published just twenty years ago, has had a deservedly successful run and is already a classic. In 1941 an abridged edition under the same title (but without illustrations) and reduced to about half the length was published by Methuen in their series of Modern Classics. Now the author himself has prepared this abridgement especially for young people, with a new introduction, many new pictures and much improved end-paper maps. It is all most skilfully done and will open the book to a new public. The author himself points out how rapidly conditions have changed since his journey through the Holy Land. It may well be that this and the parent volume will soon be regarded as classics describing bygone days which will never return.

Mr. Anson, who claims relationship to the admiral of that name, has written an interesting study of the "maritime incidents" in the New Testament and adds some useful harmonies and concordances as appendices. He is a marine artist and has already written much about the sea; he writes with knowledge and enthusiasm and has given us a pleasant book on the sailors and fishermen of Biblical times.

The Destroyer of Jesus is Herod Antipas and the book is a study of the tetrarch of Galilee and his relations with Jesus. It is diffuse and ranges widely over a period stretching back to the days of Omri and Ahab. If the author had been content to give us the biography of Antipas and to see Jesus only as seen through Herod's eyes we should have been well satisfied. As it is he seeks to prove that Antipas was responsible for the condemnation to death of Jesus; Jesus had come to Jerusalem to overthrow the corrupt Jewish government and set up a Messianic kingdom; the "No, nor yet Herod" of Lk. xxiii, 15 really means that Pilate acquitted Jesus but Herod did not; and deliverance from "the evil one" in the Lord's Prayer really means from Herod Antipas.

One can only feel that Mr. Upton Sinclair's attempt to re-interpret Jesus, sincere as it is, is a failure. "Yeshu", a dwarfed hunchback belonging to a wandering tribe of midget tinkers, taught by Mahalaleel, a higher critic of the Old Testament in the Nazareth Synagogue and by Judas of Galilee the Zealot, is largely a matter of sheer guesswork and selective use of the authorities and owes much more to some modern readings of Josephus and to Eisler than to any other scholars of repute. If we "did not so learn Christ" is does not necessarily follow that we are right. But it seems highly unlikely that Mr. Sinclair has fulfilled his aim which was "to make it possible for men and women to read about Jesus with understanding and sympathy, and without parting with their common sense".

W. Gordon Robinson.

Evangelism and Pagan England. By J. Ernest Rattenbury. 148 pp. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

Mature reflection upon a long life devoted to evangelism must command our attention, and Dr. Rattenbury's small book evinces wisdom in simplicity and an awareness of the changing "psychological" atmosphere of modern times. Well does he understand and analyse the evangelism of the decades which preceded the First World War, and sets out to relate its fundamental emphasis upon personal salvation with the proclamation of Jesus Christ that the Kingdom of God has already come. The stress upon individual forgiveness, moving through the realm of "Realized Eschatology", comes to rest for the time being upon corporate salvation, and this emphasis carries the substance of the new evangelism.

Though the book is not primarily concerned with methods, Dr. Rattenbury sees in the open forum, the "fellowship of controversy", the best way at present of reaching men with the Gospel, and the dedication of his work to Dr. Donald Soper endorses this viewpoint.

Conrad Bonifazi.

Appointment with God consists of a series of addresses on the Holy Communion given by the Rev. J. B. Phillips at St. John's Parish Church, Redhill. Mr. Phillips is well known as a translator of the New Testament Epistles and Gospels into modern English. This little book, written from the standpoint of an Anglican Vicar, is published by the Epworth Press at 5s. Its purpose is "not in any way to cover the subject but to help the ordinary Communicant to a more intelligent and satisfying approach to this central Christian rite". In Chapter V, "Sacraments in Life", the author is, perhaps, a little too ready to interpret this Sacrament of the Gospel in terms of natural symbolism; and in Chapter X, "Christ and the Real Self", he will not carry all his readers with him in putting forward "the bold suggestion" that our "real selves" and the "Christ within us" are essentially the same thing. Free Churchmen will, however, find much in the book for which they are grateful, not least for Mr. Phillips' "strong plea" for intercommunion.

James M. Todd.

The Heart of Africa. By Alexander Campbell. 479 pp. Longmans. 21s.

This book gives a journalistic impression of events, personalities and incidents in South Africa, Bechuanaland, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Portuguese Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The author has lived for seventeen years in South Africa, and has visited the other territories of which he writes on assignments for *Time* and *Life*, being, as the publisher's "blurb" says, "at every crisis point to observe and report". From reviews quoted on the dust-jacket, it would seem that an American edition of the book has already appeared. Its impressionistic scamper across a continent, like a particularly fast-moving news-reel, appears to have been well received there. Some of us in this country, already aware of what the dust-jacket calls "A Continent in Turmoil", would have appreciated more constructive writing on its problems than such an account provides.

In *Miss Brown's Hospital* (Hodder & Stoughton, 120 pp., 3s. 6d.) Miss Francesca French tells simply and directly the story of the foundation and development of the Ludhiana Medical College in the Eastern Punjab, and of the work of its founder, Dame Edith Brown. It was founded as a medical school for Indian women, but from 1953 admitted men also. It is now appealing for £375,000 for a 500-bed hospital.

R. K. Orchard.

Marriage Failures and the Children. By CLAUDE MULLINS. 60 pp. Epworth. 5s.

Mr. Mullins was a metropolitan magistrate for 15 years, and has had a large experience of matrimonial cases. The theme of this book (the Beckly Social Service Lecture) is that it is socially dangerous to regard divorce as primarily a legal matter, and that the provision of machinery for the dissolution of marriage, together with free legal aid to oil the wheels, raises more problems than it solves. Mr. Mullins illustrates the social undesirability of easy divorce by the effect of broken marriages upon the children involved. He attacks the plea which is often made that in the interests of the children divorce is better than discord, and suggests that the discord might be ended if both parties were to investigate its causes and seek to remedy them. Mr. Mullins is an advocate of compulsory conciliation as a necessary stage before divorce proceedings are permitted. To say the least, it is very doubtful if this would work. The experience of many Marriage Guidance counsellors is that it is already too late to attempt conciliation when clients have got as far as going to their solicitors. What would help would be more Government support for the Marriage Guidance movement, which is greatly hampered by lack of funds. Mr. Mullins' evident dislike of the Welfare State sometimes makes him less than fair in his criticisms of it.

The Life of Mr. Silas Told, written by himself. 118 pp. Epworth. 6s.

Silas Told was the first master of the Foundery Charity School, established by John Wesley in 1744, but his greatest work was at Newgate, where he visited the prisoners and prayed with those who were condemned to death. He used to ride in the cart with them to the gallows, in order that he might comfort them to the last. Before he became a Methodist Told had lived a life of almost incredible hardship and adventure. Like John Newton, the hymn-writer, he had served on slavers sailing from Africa to the West Indies. He suffered shipwreck, was captured by pirates, nearly died of fever and was impressed by the Navy. Like many in that brilliant and cruel century he longed for the assurance of peace with God. When it was given to him, his joy knew no bounds. His love and courage found expression in his concern for the condemned. He relates his experiences with an economy of language which carries the reader swiftly from one adventure to another. This book is worth reading, not only for the light it throws on the life of the poor in the 18th century, but also because it is the autobiography of a remarkable character.

In *Wilbert F. Howard* (Epworth, 6s., 80 pp.) friends and colleagues of the late Principal of Handsworth College write in appreciation of him as a scholar and a Christian. Dr. T. W. Manson pays tribute to the part he played in the new translation of the Bible. Others give personal reminiscences and recall what he did for Methodism both in the training of ministers and by leadership in ecumenical affairs. A brief selection from addresses given by Dr. Howard on various occasions helps to round off the picture of a man of intellectual distinction and Christian love.

In *Theological Issues of Contraception* (S.C.M., 6d.) Canon Hugh Warner argues that union not procreation is the primary object of coitus. There are regular occasions in the natural order of things when procreation is ruled out, therefore it fails to fulfil the definition 'the object is that purpose or intention which is inherent in the action, and characterizes it, whether the agent intends it or no.' If then union is the end God intended in making man and woman, contraception within marriage which enables deep experience of union is theologically legitimate.

African Marriage, by Thomas Price (S.C.M., 2s. 6d., 56 pp.) is the first of a new series of International Missionary Council Research Pamphlets. The author has served in Africa with the Church of Scotland Mission and now lectures in African Studies at Glasgow University. He discusses such marriage customs as bride-price and polygamy, and shows the useful part they played in the tribal community. Bride-price, for instance, gave the kith and kin on both sides an interest in keeping the marriage intact. Mr. Price shows how social and economic changes have undermined the customs which supported marriage. The closely-knit tribal community is breaking down in a scramble for personal gratifications, made possible by the individualism which has accompanied the introduction of industry. Except for the minority who have gained a Christian conception of marriage, nothing has arisen to take the place of the former customary sanctions. This is an interesting pamphlet which throws much light on the social changes taking place in Africa today.

Studies in Christian Social Commitment. Edited by JOHN FERGUSON. 126 pp. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

War brings home to the Christian his painful dilemma as a man of two worlds. In 1948 the World Council of Churches announced that war as a means of settling disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ. Despite that, Christians in every country still join armies and destroy one another. The contributors to this book, all of whom are Christian pacifists, aim at convincing the Church that it should be pacifist too. Canon Grensted in a foreword rightly poses the problem as "the involvement of Christians in wars not of their own making, through loyalties which have a real claim, but not the claim of Christ." Dr. John H. Hicks argues that the time has come to raise the issue from an individual to an ecumenical level. No-one would gainsay that, but the individual is still left to face the question as to how he may serve God in the concrete situation which confronts him. Dr. Hicks admits that God's providence may involve different callings for different people.

John Ferguson attacks the proposition that justice as well as love has a place within Christian ethics. He sees love as an "attitude of mind as applicable to group relationships as it is to personal." He admits that obedience to this high principle is likely to lead to political impotence, but believes that by his obedience the Christian is releasing the power of God. Mr. Ferguson's closely-reasoned argument is worthy of respect, but one reader at least wonders whether love demands that Christians should contract out of civic and national responsibilities. Curiously enough one of the contributors, Professor Nels Ferré, appears to answer Mr. Ferguson. He writes, "Where consistent withdrawal takes place, pacifism is socially irresponsible." He admits that the just state has value but leaves its defence to God and those "living on the level of creation." No one who reads this book thoughtfully can fail to be disturbed by its arguments.

The Tender Years, by Bernard Watson (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 5s., 104 pp.) is a handbook for Salvation Army officers working among young people. It is written in plain English, and is full of good commonsense.

CHARLES HAIG.

(We much regret that in the October issue Mr. Haig's name was accidentally omitted from the reviews which he contributed to that number. His contribution began on page 377 with the review on *It's My Belief* and ended on page 379 with *News from the North*.)

Any town minister who would preserve any sense of complacency about his work is warned against reading *The Face of My Parish* by Tom Allan (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). We are told how a minister in the Church of Scotland faced a great challenge in Glasgow. We learn how, through a missionary group, he sought to make his church a missionary agency to the whole parish. The difficulties, the birth of new problems out of new achievements, the only partial success—all are set down honestly and movingly. One is grateful for this book because the reading of it can only do good; but the way to that good lies through much discomfort and heart-searching.

The stream of books in aid of theological preaching continues to flow freely. After reading Dr. Eric Baker's *Preaching Theology* (Epworth Press, 5s.), it came as a great surprise to see that it only contains some 60 pp.; yet it is full of matter and is rich in suggestions for sermon subjects. Neither lay preachers nor ministers will read it in vain.

There is now to hand the third edition of a devotional work of proved value, *Still with Thee,* by Francis B. James (Epworth Press, 6s.). We are given 22 chapters, each consisting of quotation, exposition and teaching, and a prayer. Each is so rich that it could be used again and again.

The Bible in Charles Wesley's Hymns by J. W. Waterhouse (Epworth Press, paper, 1s. 3d.), is a pamphlet with a twofold aim. It is designed to promote a searching of the Scriptures and a closer scrutiny of the language of hymns. Of the eight hymns treated only two will be familiar to Congregationalists.

Dr. D. Soper's *"Children's Prayer Time"* (Epworth Press, 5s.) consists of talks and prayers originally used in the B.B.C. Children's Hour. They are now put forth for use in the home. The talks are excellent, they are interesting and they teach. But I am not quite so happy in commending the prayers.

There is only one Boreham, and we have him yet again in *Dreams at Sunset* (Epworth Press, 6s.). Thirty times over he gives us a catching title, a vividly told story, a wealth of parallels. Some of it is old enough, yet from his pen it comes as fresh as paint. Discount the sentiment and the exaggeration and there is still a wealth of good stuff such as has, through the years, brought new faith and courage to multitudes.

The Cost of a Drink, by H. and M. Limb (R.E.P., paper, 6d.) is a one-act temperance play. Good Templars and Bands of Hope will love it and will certainly approve of its message; but like so many temperance and missionary plays it just will not touch the unconverted.

For any who, on their own or others' behalf, are "bothered" about prayer, there comes a little book from the Salvationist Press which may be a godsend. It is *The Salvationist at Prayer,* by Capt. Fred Brown (paper, 1s. 6d.). In its 50 pages it speaks with a piercing simplicity. There is nothing new; but vital things are treated with a sure touch.

From the Salvationist Press comes also *The Highway of our God,* by Catherine Booth, 4s. 6d. It is interesting in every way. Outside the Salvation Army the stature of Catherine Booth has never been sufficiently realized. She was a most gifted woman, spiritually and mentally. These 17 articles show a keen, clear intellect and deep Christian experience coupled with evangelical fervour and sound sense. They cover a wide range of subjects, dealing for example with Repentance, Faith, Conscience, Prayer, Courtship, Temperance, War, and Women in the Ministry. The last is a particularly good example of robust argumentation.

JOHN WILDING.

The Methodist Bedside Book. Edited by RALPH KIRBY. 384 pp. Hulton Press. 15s.

This beautifully printed, bound and illustrated volume is the third in a series of denominational "Bedside Books" put out by a professional publishing house. It is clearly assumed that there must be some thousands of people ready to spend the first and last waking moments of the day in reading snippets from their own denominational history. Given this assumption the publishers have certainly produced a very worthy article. This Methodist book is most interesting and gives many odd pieces of information which would be difficult to come by in any other way. It is warmly commended to the reader by the President of the Methodist Conference.

A. V. MURRAY.

The Epworth Press is doing useful service by reissuing some of the earlier works of Dr. F. W. Boreham. Here are four of the titles: *The Silver Shadow, The Other Side of the Hill, Mountains in the Mist, Mushrooms on the Moor.* First issued nearly forty years ago, these books of essays still have relevance and charm. Dr. Boreham has the art of taking some incident or anecdote, weaving into it homely sense and religious insight, warming our hearts and setting us thinking. Each volume contains more than two dozen essays in about 280 pages, and at 5s. each they are excellent value.

Independent Press has issued three more booklets containing recent broadcast talks: *Deliverance—Challenge—Victory,* by W. Gordon Robinson, 1s. 6d., *Two Psalms* (an exposition of Psalms 23 and 85), by N. Micklem, 1s., and *Who Were There when they Crucified My Lord?,* by A. E. Gould, 1s.

Yarns on Wessex Pioneers, by A. G. Willis and E. H. Hayes (Religious Education Press, 4s.) tells in "yarn" form the early story of Christianity in Western England. The yarns may be written up a little, but the copious notes are rigidly factual. A very useful book, not only for senior scholars but for all whose knowledge of this part of the story of our faith is too slight.

Janet's Move by E. S. Harry (Allen & Unwin, 2s.) will be appreciated by younger girls.

Singing towards Bethlehem, by Donald O. Soper (Epworth, 1s. 3d.) is a breezy introduction to the meaning of Christmas.

Messrs. Carwal of Wallington, Surrey, have produced *The Child Jesus A. B. C.* It will appeal to the younger child, who can colour the pictures. The price is not stated.

The Concise Guides for 1955 and the weekly Papers. Edited by ERNEST H. HAYES. Religious Education Press, Wallington, Surrey.

Mr. Hayes has again secured an excellent team of helpers to prepare the Concise Guides to accompany the graded courses planned by the British Lessons Council. These are among the best aids for Sunday School teachers, and each guide is expertly adapted to its age group. There are five guides: Beginners, Primary, Junior, Senior and Young People's. That for Beginners is 5s., the others are 6s. each. Though the dust-cover classes it with the Concise Guides, the Young People's Concise Guide is titled Christian Youth Manuals, Vol. IV. This is not merely tactical, for with this guide there is a break from Sunday School approach and a real effort to grapple with the outlook and special needs of the young adult. To accompany the Beginners, Primary and Junior Guides there are sets of Papers, which are excellently prepared leaflets to delight the younger children. Each complete set of Papers costs 6d. per quarter.

MISCELLANEA

The Romantic Movement and Methodism. By F. C. GILL. 189 pp. 12s. 6d.

This is a welcome reprint of a book first published in 1937. It is interestingly written and easy to read and yet it is based on a vast amount of reading and research in eighteenth century poetry, periodicals and novels. The writer gives rather an exaggerated meaning to the term "Romanticism", and even brings in Hervey as representing "the adolescent phase" of the movement. The tendentiousness in the title also raises some questions. Is "Romanticism" the same as what the eighteenth century called "enthusiasm"? Mr. Gill seems to think that it is, although he has to admit that "Wesley's treatment of Nature in the hymns on the whole is disappointing". Enough evidence, however, has been assembled here to justify the view that the literature of the evangelical revival did something to "soften up" the contemporary mind and made it more ready to receive the new message of the Romantic school. A. V. MURRAY.

Unlike most books dealing with the experiences of Allied prisoners-of-war in the Far East, Mr. Donald Smith's *And All the Trumpets* (Bles, 16s.) does not end at the moment of release. The author, a Scotsman, was taken prisoner at Singapore in 1941 and spent four years in captivity, working, some of the time, on the notorious Siam railway. But the most interesting part of his book is that which concerns his gradual rehabilitation after release. It "tells how a very ordinary man, with no more than ordinary courage, but with the help of God survived the darkness of the pit, and found himself anew".

The theme of Mr. David Unwin's novel *The Governor's Wife* (Michael Joseph, 12s. 6d.) is modern Africa with all its problems, racial, political, religious. It recounts the experiences of Sebastian Pole, a young Englishman sent out by a financial Trust to report on the possibilities of an irrigation project in the British Colonial Protectorate of Bandaland. He finds that a few idealists favour the scheme, while the majority think that the policy of the Governor, who is sponsoring it, is dangerously liberal. Pole himself sympathizes with the Africans and, as a result of certain innocent if indiscreet contacts with them, finds himself involved in a case of murder. Mr. Unwin has a good story to tell and he tells it well. P. A. SPALDING.

The Song of the Bluebird. By BERNARD MARTIN. 186 pp. Independent Press. 6s.

This is described as "a novel for the young", and would probably strongly appeal to boys and girls of 10 to 15. It is well but breezily written, and is liberally filled with hair-raising adventures of many kinds, by land and sea, in England and in France. Jim and Molly are likeable youngsters, and their adventures will be followed with excited interest.

New Horizons. By WILFRED WELLOCK. 96 pp. Housemans' Bookshop, London, N.4. 2s. 6d.

This little book, though somewhat lacking in formal plan, has much to say that is wise and penetrating on the present national and international situation. Some of the author's suggestions may not be practicable, but others have much shrewd wisdom in them, and might well be pondered.

A. R. V.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (Oct.) includes 'The Price of our War-making Civilization' by Dr. L. P. Jacks; 'Dogma' by Professor R. C. Zaehner; 'The Divine Tragedy' by A. Victor Murray; 'The Evangelistic Situation in England Today' by J. Wren-Lewis; 'Man, the Believing Animal' by Dr. F. H. Heinemann.

International Review of Missions (Oct.) includes 'The Christian World Mission in the Perspective of History' by Dr. C. W. Ranson; 'Christianity in India and the Eastern Orthodox Church' by Dr. N. Zernov; 'The Weakness and Strength of the Bible Societies Today' by Olivier Beguin; 'Educational Developments in the Belgian Congo' by Rev. Orval J. Davies.

Scottish Journal of Theology (Sept.) has 'Recent Biblical Studies and their Doctrinal Implications' by Rev. T. S. Garrett; 'God and Negation' by Rev. G. V. Jones; 'The Atonement and the Oneness of the Church' by Professor T. F. Torrance; 'Divine Service in the Church' by Professor Peter Brunner; 'St. Mark XIII' by Rev. C. E. B. Cranfield (concl.).

Expository Times (Aug.) includes 'Resurrection and Apostolate in St. Paul' by Rev. H. P. Owen; 'H. Lietzmann's *Mass and Lord's Supper*' by Dr. A. J. B. Higgins; 'Teaching the Gospels' by Miss Margaret Avery; *'Imitatio Christi'* by Dr. W. F. Lofthouse. (Sept.) 'Deutero-Isaiah and the Fourth Gospel' by Rev. D. R. Griffiths; 'Christology and History' by Professor Ian Henderson; 'Cullmann's *Christ and Time*' by Rev. C. K. Barrett. (Oct.) 'Agape and Eros: Notes on Dostoievsky' by Rev. G. V. Jones; 'The Logos of Philo' by Rev. A. W. Argyle; 'Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament*' by Professor Dennis Nineham; 'Teaching the *Acts of the Apostles*' by Miss Margaret Avery.

Church Quarterly Review (Oct.-Dec.) includes 'Bishop Bloomfield and Tractarianism in London' by P. J. Welch; 'The Education of Scientists' by K. G. Collier; 'Spirit-Baptism in St. Mark's Gospel' by H. A. Blair; 'Cranmer and the Liturgy of 1552' by E. C. E. Bourne.

Modern Churchman (Sept.) prints the ten papers read at the annual conference of Modern Churchmen on the theme 'Christian Living in Modern Society' introduced by Sir Henry Self, and the sermon by Canon W. G. Fallows. As always this Conference number is full of good things.

Theology (Sept.) is chiefly concerned with the Ministry of Women, with papers by Dr. Sherwin Bailey and Miss M. E. Thrall. (Oct.) includes 'Putting Episcopacy in its Place' by Rev. Cosslett Quin; 'Overseers and Bishops' by Rev. G. F. S. Gray; and a review-article on Abbot Butler's *The Church and Infallibility* by R. P. C. Hanson.

Evangelical Quarterly (Oct.) has 'The Covenant Interpretation of Culture' by Professor W. S. Reid; 'Some Thoughts on Inspiration' by Rev. H. L. Ellison; 'The Biblical Problem of Hyssop' by Professor R. K. Harrison.

The Friends' Quarterly (Oct.) includes 'George Fox's Understanding of Last Things' by T. Canby Jones; 'Some Paradoxes of Education in Africa' by Reginald Reynolds.

Theology Today (Oct.) Lord Acton's declaration that "history is an illumination of the soul" inspires the selection of articles in this excellent number, which includes 'The Unity of History' by Professor Ed. D. Myers, an epitome of the concluding volumes of Toynbee's *A Study of History;* 'History and Self-Understanding' by R. Gregor Smith; 'The Christ in Israel's History' by Professor Markus Barth; 'Racial Prejudice and Discrimination' by Prof. A. Roy Eckardt; 'The Witness of the Reformed Churches in the World Today' by Prof. John A. Mackay.

Harvard Theological Review (No. 3) includes 'A Note on Josephus, *Antiquities* 15: 136' by Prof. W. D. Davies; 'Sacramentum Dans Les Plus Anciens Textes Chrétiens' par Christine Mohrmann;; 'Letter and Spirit in N.T.' by Dr. Boaz Cohen; three articles by Dr. F. Sokolowski on 'Fees and Taxes in the Greek Cults', 'On *Prothysia* and *Promanteia* in Greek Cults', 'The Real Meaning of Sacral Manumission'.

Yale Review (Autumn) includes 'The Responsibility for Decision in Foreign Policy' by Mr. Dean Acheson; 'Walden—1954' by E. B. White; 'Benelux' by Alan Valentine; 'The Difficult Art of Biography' by Wilmarth S. Lewis; 'The Armenian Writers' by William Saroyan; 'Indo-China' by Professor Rupert Emerson; 'French Foreign Policy' by Edgar S. Furniss; 'Americans in the Port of Princes' by Herbert Gold; 'The Moving American' by George W. Pierson.

J. M. P.